

LETTERS

ON

IRISH EMIGRATION.

FIRST PUBLISHED IN THE BOSTON DAILY ADVERTISER.

BY EDWARD E. HALE.

BOSTON:
PHILLIPS, SAMPSON & COMPANY.
1852.

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W. A. ABERNETHY

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THESE letters were first published in the Boston Daily Advertiser in December, 1851, and January, 1852.

In collecting them together, I have made such additions, as the publication of new documents permitted, to the statistics they contained; and I have annexed, to the whole, some notes and tables which I have thought would be useful in reference.

The facts and statistics in these letters, have been collected, from time to time, in the course of my professional duty, as a minister in a large inland town. Every clergyman will understand me, when I say, that from the very first, any efforts to help the poor, bring up the whole question of duty to the stranger who is within our gates. Whoever is attempting systematic relief must meet at once the question, whether an undue share of that relief is not claimed by foreigners. I found, also, very early in my experience of such matters, that, under the Statutes of Massachusetts, it is much easier to provide from the generosity of the public for the unfortunate born among ourselves of our own blood, than for those as deserving, who came from abroad, or were born from foreign parents.

I found it very hard, however, to collect the statistics, on which to found any opinion or argument on the questions of duty thus presented. And, therefore, when after some correspondence and conversation with gentlemen acquainted with the subject, I had brought together the facts which are embodied in this pamphlet, I felt it a duty to publish them in a form, which should show their bearing on efforts for the poor in this community. I publish them now, therefore, with the hope that I may thus save some others the pains which it has cost me to collect them;—with the wish that with the light to be gained from such facts as they accumulate,—our legislation may some day be improved;—and with the conviction that the more widely attention is called to the details of the Great Emigration, the more extensive will be the feeling that it has been too much neglected in this country by governments and public men.

With such objects in view, I have sedulously turned aside from the curious speculations as to matters of politics or religion which connect themselves with this Emigration. I have addressed myself only to the measures which are taken, and those which might be taken, to conduct, with as little suffering as possible, this removal of a nation from one hemisphere to another. I can hardly enumerate the different gentlemen to whose kind assistance I have been indebted in these inquiries. The energetic officers of the Massachusetts and New York Emigrant Commissions, of the Boston Society for Preventing

Pauperism, of the Worcester, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore
boards of Overseers of the Poor,—with many other persons whom I need not
name in print, have my hearty acknowledgments for the information they
have furnished me. I am glad to mention these gentlemen here, because I
can thus give weight to the opinion which has called forth this pamphlet.
For I believe they all agree in the opinion, of which none can be better judges
than they, that thus far the most of the States have singularly neglected
systematic arrangements for the Emigrant. For even the state of New
York, whose system is most thorough, suffers from the negligence of her
neighbors.

EDWARD E. HALE.

Worcester, Massachusetts, Jan. 30, 1852.

LETTERS ON EMIGRATION.

NUMBER I.

P R E P A R A T I O N S F O R P A S S A G E.

To the Editor of the Boston Daily Advertiser.

SIR,

I shall attempt in a series of letters to bring together some notes which I have collected on the emigration from Ireland to America. As far as they go, I am sure the statistics which they contain may be relied upon. The want of general system in the oversight of this immense emigration makes the collection of such notes difficult. There is, however, in the midst of that want of general system, a great deal of action by local authorities. And by application at a number of different points, I have collected the facts which I ask you to publish in your paper.

I say nothing, in the outset, of the importance of the subject on which I address you. In the midst of more exciting discussions, and in face of a general indifference, I cannot hope that the public, or a large part of it, will soon embrace my own opinion,—that this transfer of immense bodies of people, from one climate, government and state of society, to another wholly different, is the most remarkable social phenomenon of our time,—and that which requires most the attention of Government, and of men of philanthropy. On this conviction, I will leave the figures to speak, which I shall bring before you. I shall be satisfied, if, when this series of letters is finished, I shall have produced a conviction on the minds of intelligent readers, that our State Government has but trifled with the management of its share of the responsibilities of this immense emigration ;—and the national Government wholly overlooked its more important duties, in regard to it.

I devote this letter to the emigrant's preparations for a passage from Ireland to America.

It seems impossible to begin a step further back, by speaking of his position at home. I have read every thing I could find on the condition of Ireland. But every thing one reads on

that subject, leaves the matter darker than before. I have conversed with Irishmen and Irishwomen, of various conditions of life, hoping to draw from them such details as might throw light on Ireland's social condition, and its causes. To enable me to draw them out,—I have familiarized myself, as far as I could, with local matters there,—and have kept note, as I could, of what I could learn in such conversations. But it is really almost nothing. In conversing with hundreds of emigrants of the humbler classes, it has been from one or two only that I could get any clear idea of the arrangements of their lives at home. Two peculiarities of most emigrants foil you in such efforts. The first is the national pride of the Irishman,—though he have left Ireland forever. He is resolved that you shall believe it to be the gem of the sea,—and will admit nothing that should throw a stain upon it. The second is the great monotony of his life at home. He travels little there; when he labors, it is in a most uneventful way,—and, apparently, he is very idle most of the time. He therefore has little to tell if he remembered it; but, more than this, he remembers very little. A year or two of the excitement of America seem to sweep back his Irish life to the indistinctness of a dream.

Letters from Ireland are singularly unproductive. Of all the letters to emigrants which I have ever seen, I do not now remember one, which contained much more than congratulations that the reader had arrived in a land of liberty,—and acknowledgments of remittances, or requests for them. There is quite an animated correspondence kept up,—considerable in its amount, though from the ignorance of the parties, very small in proportion to the large numbers who emigrate.

The competition between different lines of packets and different shipping houses, has been enough to scatter through the most barbarous parts of Ireland full information as to the means of passage to America. The most remote villages receive the advertisements of different lines, just as we find in our most remote villages the inducements which the same lines scatter to Irishmen to send out remittances and passage tickets for their friends.

The correspondence from this country carries a great deal of detailed information, and at present it is the principal means of supply for the expenses of the voyage. An emigrant who has succeeded here, sends out for his friends, and sends money enough to bring them. Or, which amounts to the same thing, he buys here passage tickets which he sends to them.

It is impossible to tell the amount of such remittances, of course, with precision. But the Last Report of the British Land and Emigration Commissioners, shows, that they had

ascertained, that in 1850, as large an amount as £957,008 had been remitted thus in small sums. A very considerable amount must have escaped their observation.* The facilities for making such remittances increase yearly.

The average passage money for an adult may be called twenty dollars; for a child fifteen. This is the rate at which passage tickets are sold in Boston, to be sent out to emigrants about to sail. In Liverpool, the price varies with the accommodation, &c. From Liverpool to New York, a ticket is generally £3.10s.; to Quebec, five shillings less. From London to New York, the rate is £4.10s.; to Quebec, £4 only.

The importance of this business to ship owners will readily be seen. Ships of large accommodations for freighting, which carry out our bulky raw produce, and bring back the more condensed manufactures of England, have just the room to spare, which is made into accommodations for these passengers. In Mr. Robert B. Minturn's testimony before the "Lords' Committee" June 20, 1848, he says that the amounts paid for the passage of emigrants go very far towards paying the expense of voyages of ships from America to Europe and back.

By far the larger number of these emigrants collect at Liverpool therefore,—the large commerce of that port offering all the facilities for the cheapest passage. Of 223,078 who sailed from the United Kingdom to the United States in 1850, 165,828 were from Liverpool, 31,297 were from Irish ports, and 11,448 from Scotch ports. The ease of passage from Ireland to Liverpool carries most of the Irish emigration that way. The English Commissioners suppose that almost all the Liverpool emigration is Irish; certainly much more than nine-tenths of it. Our own returns at New York confirm this supposition.

Vessels engaged in this trade, are now subject to a double inspection. In Great Britain they are examined by English Officers, that it may be known that they comply with the British statute,—and here, that they may comply with ours. The experience of the awful suffering of emigrants in 1847, when, of 90,000 who embarked for Canada in British vessels, 15,000 died on the way, or after arrival, called the attention of the English Government to the necessity of a more stringent law for passenger vessels. Our laws, amending former statutes, had passed February 22, and March 2, 1847, and no such terrible suffering took place on American vessels. The English law of March, 1848, covered the ground with care, though it was not yet so stringent as our statute. In the session of Par-

* Some months after this report was made, a writer in the London Spectator, affecting to be well informed, estimated the remittances for 1851, at £500,000 only. I mention the fact here, as a single illustration of the recklessness as to statistics of speculators on this subject.

liament of 1849, after hearing full testimony on the subject, from one of our own ship-owners among others, their present effective law was passed. Additions were made to it in 1850. That statute applies to all vessels sailing from British ports. Their previous statute applied to British vessels only. It is prepared with careful reference to the comfort of the emigrant, and to secure him against fraud. I will take another occasion to speak of its details, which are carefully enforced by officers at the different sea-ports.

The general oversight and enforcement of such regulations is placed in the charge of the "Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners,"—a body of gentlemen now consisting of Messrs. T. W. Clinton Murdoch, C. Alexander Wood, and Frederic Rogers. They also publish every spring for wide circulation among those proposing to emigrate, a "Colonization Circular." They report annually to the Colonial Secretary. There is appointed at every large port a "Government Emigration officer," who examines all outward bound vessels before they sail,—and prosecutes the master if he finds cause, for any violation of law. In other ports the inspection is assigned to the revenue officers. This duty is generally carried out, though vessels sometimes slip through with an undue number of passengers,—or scantily provisioned. In such cases vessels for Canada and the Provinces are reported to the home authorities, and an investigation follows. Where prosecution is followed by a fine, one half the fines may be appropriated to the use of persons injured, by the justice who hears the case.

Emigrants do not themselves usually make their bargains with the masters or owners of ships,—but are brought together and put on board by some "passenger broker" with whom they have contracted, and who furnishes their stores. Instances of fraud and cruelty on the part of these men sometimes take place, but, on the whole, they are not so many as in so immense a business, one might have feared. The English Government has taken what pains it could, by a system of licensing, to keep in order the passenger brokers; but the great competition leads to frauds, practiced by their runners, if not by them. Within the last two years the establishment by Mr. Sabell, a German gentleman, in Liverpool, of a large Emigrant's Home, for Germans, has shown the advantages of such an establishment. A similar one is to be established, it is said, for Roman Catholic Emigrants, under Catholic auspices. The Liverpool Dock Trustees propose to establish another, under suitable directions. Such establishments are in the hands of government in Hamburg. They receive the emigrant while waiting for his passage; and attempt an improvement both in his health and his means, when he fairly embarks for his new home.

The manner in which pauper emigrants are shipped to this country, requires some specific statement. It ought to be understood that the British government, as such, does not disgrace itself directly with this procedure. The "Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners," have some small funds which they annually appropriate to assisting emigrants. But these are always applied to emigrants who are going to Australia or its neighborhood. Under the Poor Law Amendment Act, parishes in England have the power to send away paupers. I have seen a return as late as 1847, of the amount to which this is done. By this return it would seem that, in eleven years, they had not often availed themselves of this power. Most of the emigrants, whom they did send, went to the colonies in the South Pacific. The remainder, almost all went to Canada, and only fifty-seven are returned as sent to the United States.

In 1847, the Poor Law system was extended to Ireland. The Irish Parishes then began the same system. But it is not yet very extensively carried on. There are in all Ireland 163 "Unions," for the relief of the poor. The last published returns from these, were made in May last. From May 1st, 1850, to April 1, 1851, only 53 had sent out any emigrants. The total number sent by them was 1721;—a very large proportion of whom went to Quebec. 263 only were sent to ports in the United States. In the month of March last, twenty-two persons, mostly children, sent directly from poor houses, arrived at the port of Boston.

There does not appear, from the English parliamentary documents, to be the slightest shame connected with such transactions. On the other hand they are spoken of as creditable to the public spirit of the parties concerned. The only instance I have noticed, where officers of the Government, other than parish officers, acted, as such, in forwarding emigrants, was in July, 1847, when the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, sent from Ballykilcline, Roscommon, disposed, in this way, of a body of "Squatters," who had nestled down on Government Land in that county. The Commissioners state, very coolly, that it was too late in the season to send them to Canada, and therefore they sent them to New York. This shows how little they understand the prime necessity in a humane view, of an arrival here early in the year. They sent 236 of these persons at first, and gave each man one pound when he landed. The scheme succeeded so well that they afterwards sent 111 more.

Large proprietors in Ireland and Scotland, frequently send out their tenantry thus. The Marquis of Normanby, has thus given his name to the immense poor-house in our harbor,

which is very properly known as Normanby palace. A considerable proportion of his people have been in good health and condition, but there have been one or two disgraceful exceptions. Lord Palmerston has sent out in former years, large numbers of tenants. So many of them came in miserable condition to New Brunswick and Canada, that the authorities there made a great outcry, and his agents were obliged to make explanations and excuses. Lord Palmerston himself did not in the least appear in the war of letters which arose. It was as well that he did not. On the 1st of November, 1847, 422 of his people arrived at St. John, "the whole in the most abject state of poverty and destitution, with barely sufficient rags to cover their nakedness." This was the official report at New Brunswick. It was sent to Lord Palmerston's agents, who replied with virtuous indignation:—"the statements made of their want of clothing will surprise your Lordship very much when we inform you that above £100 was laid out with the most rigid economy in procuring for them the most necessary and suitable articles of clothing, such as blankets, shoes and stockings, flannel petticoats, shawls, shifts, gowns, &c., for the females, and trowsers, coats, waistcoats, shirts, hats, caps, and wagoners, for the men and boys." It is a simple calculation to see how far this munificent *hundred pounds* would go in such a distribution among four hundred and twenty-two naked and starving cotters, who had been waiting all summer for a passage.

This was in the famine summer, however, when every Irish land-owner must have had his hands full.

Nor have I any disposition, in speaking of these details of abuse, to imply that the great advantages of the great providential necessity of Irish emigration to America, do not more than counterbalance these and all its other abuses.

In closing this article, I will correct a careless statement in the London Spectator, for Oct. 18th, that the flood of emigration is a gradual growth since the peace of 1815. Gradual it is, in the sense that it was then very small and now very large. But it received the immense acceleration which gives it now the importance of a national movement, in the famine summers of 1847-48. As late as 1844, only 66,584 persons left England for America:—Canada and the United States. In 1845, 90,341. In 1846, 125,678. But in 1847, the number leaped to 251,834. In 1848, it was 219,298, and in 1850, scarcely larger than in 1848. This year it will amount to more than 300,000 persons. Up to 1848, more than one-third of these emigrants went to Canada. But the Canadian emigration has ever since been much smaller.

Dec. 3, 1851.

No. II. **S H I P - B O A R D .**

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S H I P - B O A R D .

VESSELS with emigrants from Great Britain to the United States, must comply with the provisions, both of the British Statute of 1849, and its amendments of 1850; and of ours of Feb. 22, and March 2, 1847; and May 17, 1848.

The American Statutes require that the space on deck, unoccupied by stores or goods, (except passengers' baggage,) shall average fourteen square feet for each passenger,—man, woman, or child,—on board, excepting infants not one year old. If, between decks, there is not a space six feet high, the average must be sixteen square feet a passenger;—and if less than five feet high, there must be twenty-two square feet a passenger. If an orlop deck be fitted for passengers, they are allowed an average of thirty square feet. For violation of these provisions there is a penalty of a fine of \$50, or imprisonment for one year, as for misdemeanor. There may not be more than two tiers of berths on any deck:—the decks must be real decks, firmly built with floors, six inches above their timbers. Nor may any berths be smaller than six feet by eighteen inches.

These regulations were drawn up, it is understood, at the suggestion of gentlemen of great worth, largely interested in the direct trade between England and New York. Their experience and philanthropy enabled them to prescribe very proper regulations as to the number of passengers, which were in time to save our vessels from the terrors of the summer passage of 1847, and have done much to give a preference to American emigrant vessels. The general health of passengers in these vessels has been better than could have been anticipated. Suffering, in cases where it has been made public, has more often come from the emigrant's negligence to supply his own stores sufficiently, than from other mismanagement.

In a considerable degree this difficulty has been met by our statute of May 17, 1848, and the British statute of 1849.

This last named statute restricts the number of passengers [excluding cabin passengers] to an average of one for every two tons of registered tonnage. But as it permits two children under fourteen to be counted as one passenger—does not require children under one year to be counted at all,—and is restricted to emigrant passengers,—its terms are here not more stringent, in general, than our statute. The regulation for the average of superficial room, is thirty feet on an orlop deck, or other deck below the second deck,—and twelve feet for any deck above. The penalty for a larger number is five pounds for each passenger beyond such number, with which the vessel “clears out or proceeds on her voyage.” The act provides also for proper boats on board ship, and that no powder, skins, or other noxious freight be taken.

To secure the passengers against their own want of foresight in providing stores, these statutes now require that each vessel shall be furnished with provisions, on the following scale for each passenger:

	Amer. Act.	British Act.
Water,	60 gallons.	52½ gallons.
Ship bread,	15 pounds.	50 pounds.
Wheat flour,	10 “	20 “
Oat meal,	10 “	60 “
Rice,	10 “	40 “
Salt pork,	10 “	22½ “
Peas and beans,	10 “	
Potatoes,	35 “	Potatoes may be substituted for meal or rice; 5 lbs. for one.

The English act requires that these supplies shall be served out, one twentieth part twice every week;—our act requires that one tenth shall be served every week, with sufficient fuel for cooking. The penalty under our act, is a payment of \$3 00, to be paid to every person put on short allowance for every day of such short allowance. The English act makes owners and masters liable in a fine of £100 for any deficiency.

A recent English arrangement requires a discipline and arrangement for cooking, &c., similar to those in force in the long Australian voyages.

By the English act, two ounces of tea and half a pound of sugar and of molasses is to be served out twice a week for each passenger. If more than 100 passengers embark, the ship must provide a medical practitioner and a passengers' cook. It should be understood that the provisions which the ship is compelled to take are not intended for the emigrant's sole reliance. He provides other stores for himself.

The violations of the important parts of these statutes, are comparatively few.

Of the voyage itself, it is difficult to give a very distinct account, unless you have yourself crossed from Ireland or Liverpool to America in the steerage. No Irishman whom I ever met could tell me much about it. Mr. Stephen E. De Vere, a fine spirited English gentleman, on his way to official duty in Canada, took steerage passage in one of the fever stricken emigrant ships of the fatal summer of 1847. He wrote home a fearful account of its horrors, which had its share, I suppose, in procuring the new statutes of 1848 and 1849 by which those horrors were much abated. This paper is the only full account of a passage in print, and it relates to a time already gone by.

A family of settlers, in the charge of a shipping agent, are put by him on board the first of the vessels of his lines which is ready. People sometimes cross and land here without knowing what is the name of the vessel in which they come. On board, they meet for the first time with their fellow passengers, constituting a party of all numbers, up to 11 or 1200. If the vessel sails from Liverpool, there will be among them all a few Germans perhaps, for there are arrangements in London for receiving German emigrants by steampacket and forwarding them;—there will be a few English families from the manufacturing towns,—a few Scotch; but the great company of those who are swarming over will be Irish adventurers.

The emigrant deck, or decks, extend nearly the whole length of the vessel. Two or more large hatches open into it, which are open whenever the weather permits. The American Statute requires that these hatches shall be covered with houses, a provision quite essential in stormy weather. The sides of the vessel are partitioned into alcoves, wholly open toward the hall, so to speak, of the open deck. Each of these is large enough to contain, below, the chests of the passengers, —and above a very large berth,—made up of what bedding they will,—which serves for one, two, three, or if there be little children perhaps more together. The law prohibits, as has been seen, more than two ranges of berths on one deck. In the spaces beneath the open hatches, and around them, there is light enough for any work, or for reading. Here,—if they are well enough,—congregate together, on chests or other seats, the parties of emigrants,—these being the drawing-room parts of the decks on which they live. On the upper deck, forward, there are parts of the ship where they may walk or sit in the open air.

The vessels frequently are as full as the statutes permit.

You can easily calculate the degree of confinement, from the provisions which I have quoted.

Before the emigrant can go on board at Liverpool, he must be examined by a medical inspector. Medical men are licensed by the authorities to make the requisite examinations, and allowed a fee of one guinea for every hundred persons inspected. They must certify that the emigrant has no contagious disease; and they also examine the ship's medicine chests, to see that they are properly provided. If the emigrant is free from contagious disease, the physician stamps his ticket with a certificate to that effect.

The passengers go on board ships at the time directed by the passenger broker. Most of the Liverpool ships are at Waterloo Dock. The correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle*, on the Liverpool Labor and the Liverpool Poor, gave, a year since, a graphic description of the scene. Its illustration of Irish character is quite the same as one may see on an arrival here. He went down the Mersey in an emigrant vessel. "There was not," he says, "a wet eye on board; there had been no fond leave-takings; no farewells to England; no pangs at parting. Possibly there was no necessity for any. To ninety-nine out of a hundred of these emigrants the Old Country had been in all probability an unkind mother, a country of sorrow and distress, associated only with remembrances of poverty and suffering. I must confess I expected to see something like the expression of a regret that the shores of England would so soon fade from their view forever,—something like melancholy at the thought that they never more were to revisit the shores of Europe; but nothing of the kind occurred. All was noise, hurry, and animation. They had made up their minds for a long journey; hope was before them, and nothing behind them but the remembrance of misery."

Before the ship leaves the Mersey, a search is made for *stowaways*. These are persons who have secreted themselves, with the concurrence, perhaps, of passengers, in hope of getting a passage for nothing. The *Montezuma* once had ten such appear, when she was well at sea,—with a claim on humanity for provisions, of course,—while they had nothing with which to pay for their passage. An indignant captain, two years ago, (I do not know his name,) threatened to tar and feather any he should detect before he got to sea; and he was as good as his word with one poor creature. But, it is said, he has not dared to sail to Liverpool again. The search is made by calling all the passengers on deck, and sending the proper officers below to inspect every cranny where one of these brave

unfortunates may have concealed himself. If one is detected, he is sent at once on shore.

Then comes the calling the roll. The passengers pass through a passage left for them, as their names are called. The captain thus sees whom he has on board. Sometimes he finds a young man of nineteen with a child's ticket. There are, of course, many points about his people of which he needs to satisfy himself thus early. They are then dismissed to their berths, and the misery of sea-sickness as the vessel gets to sea.

Of course to estimate properly the conveniences or inconveniences of the passage, you must take the certainty of sea-sickness into account,—and that, too, it must be remembered, is the sickness of people quite unused to caring for themselves. Mr. de Vere's phrase, that "after a week, the emigrant on ship board is a changed being,"—so prostrated is he by the influences of confinement,—is probably true, under more favorable circumstances than those he wrote of. It is true even of most cabin passengers whose first voyage I ever heard described.

Every inducement which interest or statute can bring to bear, rests, under the present legislation, on the captains to bring their living freight over in good health. Generally speaking, in our packets, the men in command understand their business, and undertake with real spirit this humane responsibility. It is the general agreement, I believe, that the real difficulty in carrying it out is in the dullness of the poor sea-tossed emigrants themselves. But an effort is made, and generally with success, to have the berths cleaned daily,—to have the decks as well ventilated as possible, and kept clean. Even these provisions require a good deal of sternness on the part of the officers who carry them out. A sea-sick person will not hear to reason more than to any other voice, if he can help it.

Besides the ship's rations, the emigrant ought to have some stores of his own. Before the late British statute, this was necessary to a larger amount than now. Cooking places are provided for them, and they organize themselves at pleasure into messes, each of which has its cook, who takes the charge of preparing the meals. Arrangements more precise than this, are, as I have said, now proposed. The ship's supplies are served out twice a week. For, as two governments regulate the matter, the more severe requisitions of each must be complied with. A description of the suffering from starvation on the ship "Speed," of St. John, which had twelve weeks passage to New York, in the autumn and winter of 1848, as I received it from some of those who shared them, was one of

the most terrific accounts of lingering distress. But it was a case which belongs of course rather to the general hazards of the sea, than to this particular emigration.

After all,—the comfort or discomfort, the health or the sickness in a particular passage,—depends upon the weather,—the winds,—the previous condition of the passengers,—and a world of other unmanageable circumstances. I have known some of the finest vessels, under careful captains, bring in, after a short run, a sickly and suffering freight of passengers, on the same day when a heavy built, carelessly arrayed ship, with a commander unused to the trade, came in with a good bill of health. The reason for such difference, is sometimes that the passengers of the first have been at sea in another ship, and have put back,—so as to sail already exhausted:—or they have been long waiting passage at the port they sailed from, or for some other reason, were not in good condition for the restriction and other hardships of the voyage. The provision for detained passengers, humane enough in its intention, of the British passage act, aggravates danger of such passengers' sailing unprepared. It provides, that "in a case a failure of the voyage arises from wreck or any other accident or default after the voyage has actually begun, the passengers are entitled, within six weeks at farthest, to a passage in some eligible vessel, and in the meantime to be maintained by the master."

In the winter of 1849-50 some ships were obliged to put back, after having been out 70 days;—their passengers were, of course transferred, as soon as possible, to other vessels, by the masters, who were responsible. It is not surprising that among such passengers, thus reduced, ship-fever should break out, whatever the vessel's accommodations. I hardly need mention to intelligent readers, that the ship-fever, commonly so-called, is a severe form of Irish typhus;—a disease wholly different from the typhoid fever, long known, under various names, in New England.

The Mormon emigrants have excellent discipline and arrangements. Each company, when it arrives at Liverpool, is under charge of a president, and six committee men, who make all its bargains, keep watch on board ship, and direct all movements. The result is that their passages have generally been made very successfully.

On the voyage, the passengers of course make many new friends, among those whom the hazard of the date of the ship's sailing has thrown together. On a single ship there are emigrants from many counties, and even from many countries. There is no reason why in the long leisure of the passage, there should not spring up a pleasant good fellowship. You often find that some two or three children are pets of the

whole party. I remember hearing on the arrival of a vessel, some of the young people joining for the last time in a song, which the poet of the company had written in glorification of their vessel. They land here to scatter again,—in every direction,—and never to meet again.

The first time I ever went on board an emigrant vessel coming up the harbor, I was surprised and disappointed at the entire lack of interest the passengers took in their arrival; as the "Chronicle's" correspondent was surprised when they sailed. They were busy enough about their chests and other luggage,—but it seemed more the worried interest of a person provoked that he must move from quarters he is well used to, than any enthusiasm that they had reached the object of their search.

I sailed up the bay of New York with them,—and of more than three hundred emigrants, who had been cooped up in one vessel for eight weeks, I did not see one, who seemed interested even in looking upon the land they had come to. Perhaps their curiosity had been exhausted at Sandy Hook. But, though we arrived at the wharf at eight o'clock that night, I know they all slept on board the ship, putting off till tomorrow any slight curiosity they might have felt as to their new home. It is true that the captain resolutely kept off all the emigrant runners, who that night beset his vessel.

In 1849 the average length of a passage from Liverpool to Quebec, was 45 1-3 days; to New York about 35 days. From London to Quebec, the average was 52 3-4 days; to New York 43 1-2 days.

In the hope of inducing steamers to take emigrant passengers, the British statute has lately been so altered, as to require provisions in them for forty days, where sailing ships are required to provide for seventy.

There is a good account of a German emigrant passage from Bremen to New York, in that sprightly and very clever book, "Wanderings and Adventures of some German Emigrants." Vessels from Hamburg, and Bremen, and the north of Europe, have delivered their passengers generally in as good condition as the best American vessels.

No. III.

NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS.

The reliable sources of information as to the number of emigrants who arrive in this country, are:—

1st. The Annual Reports of the New York Emigration Commissioners. These deserve to be placed first, from their completeness of arrangement and classification. About three-fourths of the arrivals in the United States are included in them. They are made up annually to the end of the calendar year.

2d. The Annual Report of the British Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. This gives only the number of British Emigrants, without distinguishing sexes; or nations, as English, Scotch, Welch and Irish. It is made up annually to the end of the calendar year.

3d. The Annual Return to Congress, under the act of March 2, 1819; showing the number of passengers arriving by sea in the United States in each year. This document, as published for the last year or two, is as useless as so many facts can well be. It tells of particular passengers whether they were five or six years old; or whether they were joiners or ship carpenters; but then foots up together in two great totals the number of men who landed, and the number of women; with no distinction besides. These totals include Americans returning from foreign voyages. The return was formerly made up to close with the calendar year. But Mr. Calhoun took away the only means of comparing it easily with the other returns, by making it begin and end with October; and since his administration, it has so continued. Fortunately, however, each quarter is returned separately.

4th. The report of Mr. Munroe, our Superintendent of Alien passengers, gives, without sex or nation, the number of arrivals from different ports in Massachusetts. Local documents, in Baltimore, Philadelphia, &c., show the arrivals in those places.

From these sources I compile the following tables, which go as far back as we shall need in the inquiries into which I shall enter.

There arrived by sea in the United States, the persons indicated in the years noted below, including Americans. By

compilations from successive reports, I restore the Government statement to one made up for each calendar year. Unfortunately there is no record of arrivals from Canada; but the English returns supply this deficiency in part. It will be observed that this table includes returning Americans:—

In 1844 there arrived	93,367 persons.
1845 "	130,759 "
1846 "	173,635 "
1847 "	238,976 "
1848 "	242,180 "
1849 "	298,543 "
1850 to Oct. 1,	259,881 "

The proportion of males to females, may be seen in the following table:—

		Males.	Females.	Sex not stated.
1844 to October	1	50,466	36,531	
October 1844	" 45	69,188	49,290	1406
" 1845	" 46	90,973	66,778	897
" 1846	" 47	139,166	99,325	989
" 1847	" 48	136,128	92,883	472
" 1848	" 49	179,253	119,915	442
" 1849	" 50	200,903	113,392	1038

The emigration from Great Britain in the same years, was:—

To British Provinces.	To United States.	To Australasia.	Total to all points.*
1844 - - 22,924	43,660	2,229	70,686
1845 - - 31,803	58,538	830	93,501
1846 - - 43,439	82,239	2,347	129,851
1847 - - 109,680†	138,862	4,949	258,270†
1848 - - 31,065	188,233	23,904	248,089
1849 - - 41,367	219,450	32,191	299,498
1850 - - 32,961	223,078	16,037	280,849
1851 to April 30 14,253	86,931		

These are as late as the English and United States returns have yet reached us. But the following table from local returns give some further details:—

ARRIVALS IN				
Massachusetts.	New York.	Philadelphia.	Baltimore.	Louisiana.
1848	189,176			
1849	220,603			31,159
1850	30,075	212,796	6,772	20,927
1851§	27,056	289,601	16,000	

[to Nov. 1.] [to Oct. 1.]

* That is: to the British North American Provinces, United States, *West Indies*, and Australasia,

† Of whom more than 17,000 died on the passage, or at quarantine.

‡ This is the total as given by the British Commissioners in their own tables. Their first return was 249,708; another which I think most correct, is, 261,104. But I leave this as it enters into all their computations.

§ Since this letter was written, the close of the year enables me to complete some of these statistics.

None of the above statements include any returns from California, excepting the last quarter of 1849, and the year 1850, in the American returns. In 1849, 140 persons sailed from Great Britain, direct to California. In 1850, there were 691 who made that passage.

I would call your attention especially, in the above tables, to the gradual decrease of emigration to the Provinces, compared with the increase to the United States. The arrivals in Massachusetts this year are 1049 less than in the same period last year. 1485 alien steerage passengers have sailed from Boston, on their return, since the year began. Of the 27,056 who arrived, 4037 have been here before. In 1847, the terrible famine year, a part of the famine was on the sea. The poor pushed forward, and were pushed forward from Ireland, and, as I have already explained, the sufferings in British vessels, such as only could then trade with the Provinces, was terrible. Canada, appalled with the influx of suffering, passed a very severe law prescribing the heaviest "head money" for emigrants yet attempted. These two causes largely participated with any growing popularity of the United States in turning the stream to us. The burden of the law, while it lasted, was really severe on passenger vessels to Canada.—Once turned, the stream so far supplies itself, by directions hence, that it proceeds in the way it has begun. Emigrants passing by sea from Province to Province, pay head money at every new transfer of jurisdiction.

The head money in the Provinces is now less than in our ports, and it is really cheaper, I believe, to go to the West through Quebec, than through New York; but the colonies cannot draw back the harvest they received in the panic of 1847.

Before the year of famine, however, a large emigration from Canada across the border, and from the Atlantic provinces to our ports went on, as it does still. A recent Canadian act refunds half the head money to passengers who go at once to the Western States by the Canadian public works. Of 253,224 emigrants who landed in Canada and New Brunswick, between 1845 and 1850, more than 73,000 proceeded instantly to the United States. Of 32,648 who landed in Canada in 1850, 13,723 took this course at once. In New Brunswick, in 1850, only 1,507 arrived at all; showing a great decrease from former years. We receive head money on all who arrive by sea from the Provinces, as if they had come direct from Ireland.

I have inserted a few memoranda of the emigration from Great Britain to Australasia, (including New Zealand.) This

reached its height in 1841, when 32,625 persons went thither from England. Its lowest point was in 1845, when only 830 persons went thither. The gradual diminution of emigration thither, will be checked by the gold discoveries in Sydney.— But the tables are enough to show that the United States is becoming the most popular country to the European emigrant.

The total arrivals in New York from all countries, are generally about three-fourths of the arrivals in all our ports.— The proportions of British emigrants to the whole arrivals, varies considerably in different years. Thus there arrived at New York :—

	From Great Britain.	Other countries.	Total.
1848. . .	128,592.	60,584.	189,176
1849. . .	152,199.	68,404.	220,603
1850. . .	153,493.	59,303*.	212,796
1851. . .	198,300.	91,301.	289,601

1850—In Mass. from British ports, 26,017; other ports, 4,058.

In Baltimore, in 1850, there arrived—Irish, 2,645; Germans, 3,872; and only 286 of other countries; the Germans preponderating; and this in a year of small German emigration. In New Orleans, the division is nearly equal between Germans, French, and English.

The New York arrivals being much the largest;—and ours the next largest; it follows that the British emigration is still nearly three-fourths of the whole.

Some attention has been called in the papers to the fact that a considerable number of Irish, more than 10,000, have sailed this fall for Ireland, on their return, from New York. I am informed, however, on the highest authority, that this is not an extraordinary movement—and that there is not a larger proportion returning than usual. They go back to see their friends, attend to business, and often to bring out their families. As is stated above, while 1,485 sailed from Boston on their return in the first eleven months of 1851, 4,037 arrived here a second time.

It will be seen by the tables above, that the emigration has varied singularly from year to year. As long since as 1838, the British emigration fell as low as 4,577 to the colonies, and 14,332 to the United States. The falling off was attributed to the Canadian rebellion. On the other hand, the Irish famine of 1848, raised the British emigration to North America, to 251,834, from 125,678, the amount in 1846; just doubling it. All the immense emigration of later years, has hardly car-

* The falling off was from Germany.

ried it beyond this point, until this year. In 1849, it was 260,817. This year it will be much above 300,000. These calculations, it will be seen, include the emigration to the colonies. Five-sixths, about, of those from Great Britain to this country are Irish. Of the races in the emigration to the Provinces, I cannot speak.

It has always been said that the falling off in 1848, was caused by the prospect of a rebellion in Ireland. A fight in Canada kept them away;—but the hope of one in Ireland could not be neglected.

In face of such changes, a prophecy is hazardous. I venture however, from the position of Ireland herself, the suggestion, that, without remarkable changes which we cannot now foresee in the order of affairs, the Irish emigration will not soon be larger than that of the present year, and probably will never be larger, if so large. The drain upon Irish population has been immense. The census of 1851, showing a diminution of near 2,000,000 in the population of Ireland in ten years, should have been no surprise to persons conversant with her position. The Emigrant Commissioners had announced the year before that the Annual emigration had drawn off at least a million more than any previous rates of increase could supply.

Meanwhile, the Commissioners of Public works, various private Companies and individuals are developing her resources of mines, fisheries, and manufactures. Property is so changing hands as to offer much more encouragement, and better wages to labor. Among the reasons why English emigration to Australia falls off is that Englishmen can easier emigrate to the rich "wastes" of Connaught. The former inhabitants of these "wastes" are now in America. All these developments of industry must create a demand for labor even there. If they were evenly scattered over Ireland, they would check emigration at once. But Ireland is many nations in one. And it is much more natural therefore, to an Irishman from Kerry to come to America, home of all nations, and go to work in a factory, than it would be to go to County Down in the north of his own island, and go to work in a factory, even at as good living wages there.

Ireland is not so crowded after all, as we, who have seen those starved swarms pouring from it, are used to suppose. Its area is 30,400 square miles. Its population, on the 31st of March last, was 6,515,794. This gives an average of 214 persons to the square mile. We in Massachusetts have 127 to the square mile. Those parts which have suffered most in Ireland, do not come up to the density of our Massachusetts population. The population of the county and city of Gal-

way, is only ninety-one to the square mile. This was one of the most severly tried regions in the famine. Now it can hardly be that any slowness of the laborers to go from part to part of Ireland shall be sufficient to keep them from wages there, which must continue to rise, if the development of material resources, noticeable ever since the famine, and the regular diminution of poor rates continues.

I may add that the influence of the Catholic Clergy of Ireland is, on the whole, turned against the emigration of their flocks. Such is the statement of high authorities, who say that the reason is, that they dislike the necessary loss of power, which this Celtic Exodus of course brings upon them.

In ten years, from 1841 to 1850 inclusive, the British emigration to America was 1,522,600 persons. Of this, certainly 1,300,000 was Irish,—a number which goes far to account for the falling off in the Irish census of 1851.* This year more than 300,000 more have come. Granting, what I consider probable, that as many will arrive in 1852; it still seems improbable that more than that number will leave an improving country. And after that the annual number can hardly fail to diminish. It is the Celtic portion which emigrates;—and their relative proportion to the Saxon races in Ireland is now materially reduced by starvation and emigration. For such reasons, I am induced to suppose that Irish emigration is now at its height. It will not fall back very suddenly, for those now here, will send out for their friends, and they will continue to come. But it is not like to rise ever without new aggravating causes, above 300,000 a year.

Those Protestants who do emigrate from Ireland generally go to Upper Canada, I am told.

* For the convenience of those persons who wish to carry farther such calculations on Irish population, the Irish census of 1841 and that of 1851, are printed in an appendix A.

No. IV.

QUARANTINE AND INSPECTION.

THREE-FOURTHS at least of the emigrants arriving in this country land at the port of New York. On the whole, the arrangements of that State and city seem as effective and careful as any. In giving an account, therefore, of the arrangements made for collecting a revenue from emigrants, and inspecting their health, I shall speak especially of New York city, noticing, by the way, any important variations in the Massachusetts practice.

After various changes and evasions in legislation, resulting from the necessary conflict between Federal and State powers: the different seaboard States have at last protected themselves, in the utter negligence of the General Government in this matter, by a series of Statutes, based on one general principle, and differing only in detail.

That principle is this. In theory, by these various Statutes, the owner, master or consignee of every vessel arriving with foreign passengers, must give a bond with a large penalty, and with sufficient securities, for each of those passengers, that he shall not, within a time fixed by the Statute, become a public pauper. This bond is fixed at such a sum that it would be quite impossible for any ship owners to undertake such a responsibility for a large number of passengers. The Statutes, therefore, all provide that, at their option, ship owners, masters, &c., may *commute*, if they please, for giving such bond, by paying down a certain sum for each healthy passenger. None of the States, I believe, permit commutation for disabled passengers. This commutation money is known as head money. Practically, it is almost always paid, as much the easier branch of the alternative. The reason why it is not enforced in form, is, that the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, delivered in the cases of *Smith v. Turner*; and *Norris v. city of Boston*, Feb. 7, 1849, declared such collection by direct Statute unconstitutional, as an interference with the federal right of regulating commerce. The

several States, therefore, now compel ship owners to elect to pay this sum. It is, of course charged to each emigrant as a part of the expense of his passage.

In Massachusetts, the head money is \$2. In New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland it is \$1 50. In Pennsylvania it was formerly \$2, but a practice immediately sprung up of landing emigrants in Wilmington, Delaware, where they could be commuted cheaper, and whence they proceeded at once to Philadelphia by land, while the ships went up the river to discharge their cargoes.

The emigrant ship as she comes up New York bay makes signal that she has passengers on board, and opposite the quarantine station, on Staten Island, she lies to. The Health officer of the Commissioners of emigration is stationed here. He boards the vessel at once. At this moment it may not be amiss to say, that the officer, Dr. Doane, is the gentleman who received Kossuth, the most distinguished emigrant he has "inspected" this year.*

His first business, ordinarily, is to see the Captain, who ought to have ready for him a list of his passengers, with a statement of their condition. The Captains are, of course, desirous to make this report as favorable as possible, but the subsequent inspection, though rapid, is complete enough to prevent much danger of deception. The Captain is bound to report, within twenty-four hours of his arrival, to the Mayor of the city, the number of his passengers who are citizens, and the number who, being foreigners, have never been bonded, their place of birth, last residence, age, name and occupation. He shows this report to the Health officer. The officer then questions him and the ship's physician as to the health of the passengers, whether any of them are lunatic, idiot, deaf, dumb, blind or infirm, if so whether they are accompanied by relatives who can take care of them; and again with regard to the deaths on the passage. All these particulars the Captain is bound to specify in his report to the Mayor, and if he fail to specify them correctly, the Commissioners of emigration on the report of their Health Officer would prosecute him for the penalty provided. Such penalties, when recovered, are a part of their available funds.

While the Health Officer obtains the details of the Captain's report, the emigrants are mustered on deck for his personal examination. He then goes below with his men,—examines the emigrant decks, that he may see those who are not well

* As these sheets pass through the press the death of this gallant and distinguished officer, who deserved that title better than many who have received it in other services, is announced. He died of ship fever, contracted in the duty in which he has done much in the cause of justice and humanity. His ready courtesy in the discharge of his duties will be long remembered.

enough to go on deck,—and satisfy himself that no persons are concealed on board, so far as such an examination will satisfy him. This visit enables him to observe, in a measure, whether the United States statute regarding the treatment of emigrants on board any vessel has been violated. This statute applies to all vessels arriving here; the examination made in England having been made, of course, with reference to the provisions of the English laws. Any violation of the American statute would be reported by the Emigrant Commissioners to the United States Attorney.

This examination finished, he goes on deck, with his men, to inspect those reported as in health who are assembled there. You know that in some instances there have been more than a thousand on a single vessel. The inspection is rapid indeed. A rope is drawn across the vessel, leaving a passage between the Health Officer and one of his boatmen, wide enough for one emigrant at a time to pass through. They pass quickly through, from the throng where they are assembled, and are counted as they go. If the quick eye of the Health Officer detects a blind, deaf, dumb or idiotic person,—or one who has any aspect of sickness, he stops him, questions him,—and if he do not pass such questioning satisfactorily, he is reported. The main object of this personal examination, however, with that made below, is to obtain evidence that the ship has not brought more than the number of passengers allowed by law.

At this same visit the Health Officer and his men distribute among the emigrants papers of simple advice, which are prepared by the Commissioners in different languages.

If, now, among those ascertained to be sick, there are any suffering under diseases classed as contagious, they are landed at the Quarantine Hospital. The whole vessel and passengers, of course, are subjected to the Quarantine arrangements of the Port. If there be other sick passengers, unable to provide for themselves, the Commissioners of emigration are at once notified of the fact, and on the arrival of the vessel at New York, these persons are removed to the emigrant hospital at Ward's Island, of which I shall speak hereafter.

On the facts presented by this examination and the Captain's report, the arrangements are made for the payment of the head money, alluded to above, or for the requisite bonds. All persons in tolerable health and condition are "commuted for," that is the head money spoken of above is paid over to the authorities. For those reported as disabled,—as for idiots, insane, deaf, dumb, blind or infirm, not members of emigrating families,—or for those who have been paupers abroad,—or from any circumstances are liable to become a public charge, the law of New York does not permit any "commutation,"

but requires an available bond, with a penalty of five hundred dollars, to save harmless the Commissioners of emigration, and all public authorities in the State, from any charge of such disabled person, within ten years.

For an able-bodied passenger, the bond required in New York is only three hundred dollars, that he shall not become chargeable within five years.

Our Massachusetts Statute is much more stringent, and the custom in the practical enforcement of it in our ports makes it more stringent still.

Our statute (March 20, 1850; chap. 105), provides that the bonds shall secure that the emigrant shall not be a charge to the public officers of the Commonwealth at any period *in his life*. The bond is one thousand dollars, in all cases; with the privilege of commutation in cases of able bodied emigrants not likely to be public charge, as in New York. But in the discretion entrusted to the examining officer, our Superintendent of Alien Passengers, who takes the duty of the New York Board of Commissioners of emigration, Health Officers and all, is much less lenient than are they. Although, as will be seen, the average of health in vessels arriving here is really better than in New York,—still, in New York, among more than 600,000 emigrants, arriving in 1848, 1849, 1850, only 300 bonds were required, as for disabled persons; and those bonds were for ten years only;—while in Boston, in the same time, among only 90,000 passengers, bonds were exacted for 4334,—the security to remain as long as the emigrant shall live. That is, nearly *one hundred times* as many passengers were bonded here as likely to be paupers, in proportion to the number received, as in New York; though there is reason to believe the average of health in arrivals here better than there.

This stringency at our ports has probably no practical effect whatever but to embarrass considerably our direct foreign trade. It is understood that shipping agents in Liverpool take care to send to New York, whenever they can, all passengers where they have any reason to apprehend that bonds will be required in Boston. Arrived in New York they pass the easier examination there, pay their head money, and if they have any reason whatever to come into New England, they take immediate passage here by the numerous means of conveyance. Nor will all the ingenuity of our legislation keep them out, though the statute of last year has, impotently enough, attempted this. [Chap. 342, 1851.] With a good many evasions, of which I shall have occasion to speak hereafter,—the expenses of paupers secured by bonds in Massachusetts are collected with care. I have heard complaints made by ship owners that the bills for the charge of their paupers

were too high. But, in few, if any instances, have payments of these bills been successfully resisted. In 1850, \$6,069 39 were collected after March 20, when the statute of that year came into effect.

It will remain to be seen by the report to be made in January to our Legislature, how far the Commissioners appointed by the Statute of last May have succeeded in the effort to keep out invalid or pauper passengers attempting to come into the State by land. That statute provides that the railroad companies who introduce foreigners into the State shall be liable for their charges if they become paupers within a year of their arrival. The immense practical, not to say legal difficulties in enforcing this statute remain to be observed.

This effect is to be observed of our system, however, already; that our own State legislation has already, to a considerable extent, wounded our own packet lines. While this year, the arrivals in New York to December 2, are 64,077 more numerous than in the same period of 1850, an *increase* of 21 per cent,—and a proportionate advantage to the transportation interests of the State, and its emigration tax has ensued,—in our port there has been a *falling off* of 1,049 in the same time, nearly four per cent. If it could be shown that we have thus a hundred paupers less, there would be some argument for this stringency, but that would be hard to do.

Acknowledging the difficulty of the case, the true policy of Massachusetts seems to be indicated by her position. She is a large shipping State, with fine arrangements for transporting passengers Westward, and with very small territory. She has an opportunity therefore to collect a large amount of head money, with good chance, under natural causes, of scattering far and wide the foreigners who pay it. Her true policy seems to be, therefore, not so much to attempt, what her commercial position makes impossible, to prevent their arrival here, as to arrange, as far as is in her power, for dispersing them, as fast and as far as their own best interests require.

Instead of this she has arranged and preserved, as I shall show in another paper, a complicated system for keeping those of them who are disabled in her own territory.

The only provision not embodied in our law, which deserves notice, is an effort to induce emigrants to sail early in the year. In the British provinces, the head money is raised after the first of September. This is done on the presumption that a larger number of late arrivals will become a public charge than of those who come early enough to scatter, in the same season to fields of labor. The presumption is perfectly well founded. But I suppose it is doubtful whether the addition of

a dollar or two to the price of a passage, caused by the increase of head money, produces much effect in inducing emigrants to sail early. They have every other temptation to sail as early as they can.

No. V

THE EMIGRANT BOARDS OF MASSACHUSETTS AND NEW YORK.

The emigrant on arrival is beset by persons whose business it is, for better or worse, to take care of him. The gross impositions which emigrant runners and forwarders practiced in New York, led to the most stringent legislation in that State, and the Board of Emigrant Commissioners there, has now very full powers for checking the worst abuses. The business, it is said, is followed mostly by foreigners, who have, in their language, a particular facility for fleecing their own countrymen.

The Board of Emigrant Commissioners in Massachusetts, has only existed since last May, when the Statute passed creating it: [Chapter 342: approved May, 24, 1851.] It is a body of very limited powers, consisting of the Auditor, the Superintendent of Alien Passengers, and one member of the Council. Its business is simply to see that the several town boards of Overseers of the Poor, do not defraud the State in their dealings with it, on account of Foreign Paupers:—to oversee the introduction of foreigners by Railroad; and to report such improvements in our system as may suggest themselves.

From this last provision some decided remedies to the increasing and chronic difficulties of our pauper legislation may be hoped for.

The Board of Emigrant Commissioners in New York,—to which I have made repeated references,—is a larger body, with far more extensive duties. The City of New York being the only sea-port in the State, the Board's operations almost all take effect there. It consists of six members appointed by the Governor and Senate for six years, and of the Mayors of New York and Brooklyn, and the Presidents of the Irish and German Charitable Societies, *ex officio*. This Board has corporate powers, and to it are entrusted all the complicated duties which the State undertakes towards emigrants. It provides for the inspection of ships, for prosecutions for violation

of the United States Statutes, and for collecting the head-money and penalties on bonds. With these funds, amounting in 1850, to a total of \$380,094.42, it is to take charge, under the Statutes of New York, of all paupers in that State, who have arrived from abroad within five years;—that being the period covered by the bonds which have been given or commuted for. It becomes, therefore, a Board of Overseers of the Poor, Insane, Blind, &c.—of a very wide agency. For its purposes this Board has purchased Ward's Island, in the East River, above New York. There are established its various hospitals, nurseries, &c., for those of its protégés who need its assistance near New York. It also has charge of the Marine Hospital, at Staten Island,—where persons are received, who on arriving are afflicted with contagious or infectious diseases.

So extensive are the arrangements at Ward's Island, that in 1850, 10,156 persons were cared for there, each remaining, on an average, sixty-three days. Three hundred and eighty-four infants of foreign parents were born there in that year. At the Marine Hospital, in the same year, 3,411 persons were treated, whose stay averaged thirty days each.

Besides these, 161 lunatics were sent by the Commission to the Blackwell's Island Lunatic Asylum, and 106 small pox patients to the small pox establishment there.

Such are the arrangements for the sick in the city of New York and its neighborhood. If any of the interior counties have in charge as paupers, emigrants not yet five years in the country, and therefore belonging to the charge of the Board, their officers notify the Board of such charge. If desirable, they are removed to the Refuge and Hospital at Ward's Island. Otherwise the Board pays the county establishment the amount of expenses incurred for them. In 1850, 5,937 persons became thus chargeable to this commission.

The State of New York has been fortunate in securing as the first Commissioners under the act establishing this Board, a body of men, of whom some of the active members have certainly no superiors in business ability, or I may add, in high benevolence, in our country.* They discharge their laborious duties without compensation. The action of the Board has been none the less prompt, however. It is not quite five years since it was established,—but its leading institutions are already fairly started, and there is fair prospect that the calculations will not be disappointed, from which it was inferred

* The Report of 1850, the last printed, is signed by

G. C. Verplanck,
A. R. Lawrence,
Cyrus Curtis,
John E. Devlin,
Gregory Dillon,

Samuel Smith, *Mayor of Brooklyn*,
Robert B. Minturn,
C. S. Woodhull, *Mayor of New York*,
Adolph Rodewald,
Wm. McArdle.

that the revenues of the Board would be equal to its wants. An occasional outbreak of complaint in the New York papers, shows that they are eagerly watched. But they have always been able to justify themselves in face of most selfish and bitter criticisms.

The gigantic duties of the Board, do not prevent an economy which recommends itself to us in our lavish and inefficient pauper expenditure. For the State of New York, by the agency of this Board, in 1850, took the entire necessary charge of 19,822 emigrant paupers in its institutions for \$321,906 59, and relieved 14,368 transient applicants, at an expense of \$47,654 61; a total of 34,290 persons for \$369,561 39. This is an average of \$16.24 for those supported in institutions;—and of \$10.77 on the whole number. The State of Massachusetts in the same year, by its 320 different Boards, and in the Insane Asylum, took similar charge of 12,503 emigrant paupers, at an expense of \$268,852 17. This is an average of \$21.50 each.

Of this immense sum, \$103,987 96 was paid directly from the Treasury of the State, which has probably still to discharge some considerable demands on the same account.

The fact that the charge of the very same class of people should cost so much more in our State than in New York—is accounted for, in an instant, by the fact, that with us, three hundred and twenty town boards,—the Superintendent of Aliens and the Government of the Lunatic Asylum have charge of the expenses, which in New York are under the supervision of one energetic body. Add to this the fact that nearly one third of the money which these boards spend is from a Treasury, the State's,—for which they have no responsibility;—and again, the ingenious temptations which our Statutes contrive, under which the several towns keep these poor people traveling from place to place, at the expense of the public;—and a variation of cost,—even as considerable as that which exists,—is accounted for.

These figures, however, suggest another question. Why does Massachusetts, with a population of only 1,000,000, in whose borders in seven years past, only 133,826 persons have arrived from abroad, sustain at the charge of the public, a number of foreigners more than three-fifths that which the State of New York finds it necessary to sustain with her population of 3,000,000,—and an arrival in the same time of more than 1,000,000 persons from beyond the sea? A partial answer to this question is in the difference between our classification, under our law of settlement, of persons as foreigners, from that which holds in New York. But this answer is only

partial, and by no means meets the fact, that while, on any calculation of proportion, we ought to have about one-sixth the number of foreign paupers which New York has,—we have four times that proportion! To these questions the full answer is found in our legislation and that of the other New England States, to which I shall at another time direct your attention.

No. VI.

WHERE THE EMIGRANTS GO.—STIMULATE THE ABSORBENTS.

I return to speak of the position of the emigrant on his arrival.

We have been looking only at the case of the sick and otherwise destitute. In New York these are cared for by the State Board at the Refuge at Ward's Island, of which I have before spoken,—in Boston by the Boston local authorities, at the expense of the city, at Deer Island, at the immense Poor House, which has been christened "Lord Normanby's Palace."

But the large proportion of the emigrants have been sent for by their friends already here. At the very least, they have the address of some countrymen who have anticipated them here, and from whom they hope for welcome. As you go on board an emigrant ship, you will be amused to find how widely scattered these fellow-passengers will be in a few days. Those who came well-provided, readily find their way, of course, to these several destinations, and, for a large number of the emigrant passengers, there is no more need to make the special provision to insure their passage to their friends, than for passengers by a steam packet from Liverpool. But among 300,000 in a year, there will be many not thus provided for.

Both in Boston and New York, therefore, at the office of the Superintendence of Emigration, especial provision is made for those also who have friends in this country, whose address they know, while they have not means to reach them. As soon as such persons apply, a registry of their names and their friends is made, and a letter addressed to the friend in question informing him of the facts, and asking for a remittance for the traveling expenses of the emigrant. In New York

there are so many of these applications that one clerk is constantly employed in filling out the printed circular letters, and keeping the registry of these applicants. It is to be mentioned, as greatly to the credit of emigrants already at home here, that answers are received to the greater part of these letters,—so that when the emigrant applies a second time to the office, it is able to forward him, at his friends' expense, to them.

The simple form of application is the following, copied from the New York blank. The Boston blank is nearly the same:

OFFICE OF THE COMMISSIONERS OF EMIGRATION,

New York, 185

arrived here on the of
from , and being without means to proceed on to you, request
me to inform you thereof, and to ask you for the necessary aid.

Any money you may send to my address, at the Office of the Commissioners of Emigration, will be carefully appropriated, and the part forwarded
according to directions without delay.

GENERAL AGENT.

Subject, then, to the only remaining dangers which result from his own dullness, or his ignorance of the language and customs of the country, the emigrant starts for his new home, and takes his chance in it. From this moment, having been once provided for, we may let him pass from the present inquiry. The confidence with which, in entire ignorance, emigrants go forward to their homes, all unknown as those homes are, but by name, is remarkable. I once traveled from New York to Philadelphia with a hundred Germans, all going to the West, not one of whom understood enough English to know what the clerk of the boat meant when he called for their passage tickets; nor had they any interpreter with them.

The daily experience of our large seaport towns shows how these emigrants work their way into employment, who have no special plans when they arrive, or no relatives to provide for them. The clanish spirit of the Irish, which has ruined them in one country, and does a great deal to ruin them in another, attracts them at once to persons to whom they have the slightest tie of consanguinity or neighborhood. For instance, it is within my own observation, that in the winter of 1850-51, fourteen persons, fresh from Ireland, came in on the cabin-hospitality of a woman in Worcester, because she was the cousin of one of the party—all of whom had sailed together. I need not allude to the jealousy with which they regard persons of other factions than their own, or from distant parts of Ireland.

The Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, in Boston, establishes a free intelligence office, which is an effective labor exchange. In the last year it furnished places to 3,137 persons. Contractors and others who employ manual laborers,

apply directly to Mr. Munroe, the Superintendent of Alien Passengers, who works with tact and energy in at once getting off those who will go to those who will employ them.

This is all that can be said of any public arrangement in Boston. The New York Commissioners go rather farther. They have established an "Intelligence Office and Labor Exchange," where emigrant applicants are supplied not only with information, but when it is necessary, with lodging, breakfast and supper, gratuitously. These supplies are, of course, of the simplest kind. But, it will be remembered, that the Board having received these people's money, is in a measure, responsible for them. The system works as follows:—

The office is a large building, formerly I believe a carriage repository, in Canal street, New York—a central position. It is two stories high. The large halls of the lower stories are arranged with long seats, where at almost any time you will find a throng of men, women, and children, waiting for some man to hire them. Up stairs are a series of coarse berths, quite similar to those to which the emigrant has been accustomed on ship-board,—and arrangements for supplying bread to those who may be destitute among the applicants. Any laborer in want of occupation may render himself here. Here, under the arrangement of the Office, he may sleep, and here he is sure of shelter. If he is disabled from sickness, he is sent to the Emigrant Hospital. If he can work, however, here is his chance for finding employment.

No registry is kept of those applying; but when a contractor wishes hands, perhaps in a distant county or state, the officer in charge proposes the terms to those in waiting, and makes up the requisite force, and forwards them. He takes care, of course, not to send Orange Men and their enemies together. If the contractor is wise, he specifies in his request the sort of hands he wants, whether they shall be Connaught men, Corkonians, or Germans, or English.

To the same office ladies come who wish to select their domestics, and may generally have a selection from some hundreds.

If, after a few days, a man is found to be shirking work,—refusing to take up with any of the proposals made to him,—he is dismissed from the establishment, and its privileges. The one advantage which it has over the smaller operations of our "Society for the Prevention of Pauperism," is, that it can keep its applicants from actual suffering, for fire and shelter, while they are unemployed. Several hundred persons have in an exigency slept under its roof. In the present winter it has been overflowing, and the Board had to provide temporary accommodations at short notice and with great diffi-

culty. There are as yet no direct statistics of its efficiency or its cost, as it was not established till last winter, and has not been a year in full operation.

Another agency, in connection with the New York Board, has proved so effective that I describe its details before closing this paper.

Some years since, Mr. Joseph Davis, a farmer of New Jersey, engaged in New York some emigrant Germans as work-people on his farm. So serviceable did they prove, that on his visits to New York, his neighbors frequently commissioned him to engage for them men or women as "help," to supply the demand for labor, so constantly complained of in the agricultural districts. These commissions eventually became so extensive that Mr. Davis entirely gave up his farming business, re-arranged his old buildings, and adapted new ones to the purposes of a Labor Exchange, in the heart of an agricultural county.

His plan is this: His home, where he can now receive at a time more than a hundred persons, is three or four miles from a railroad station, some thirty miles from Amboy. He goes to New York to the emigration office, and agrees with a party of new-comers,—perhaps a hundred at a time,—to find them work on farms. He immediately takes this party to his home, their traveling expenses to that point being paid by the commission in New York. The emigrant is there away from the temptations and frauds of a large town or of a stream of travel. There he lives at Mr. Davis's expense till some one hires him.

It is not long, as it proves, before he is hired. Mr. Davis's establishment is well known through the neighboring counties. Farmers in want of help travel even thirty or forty miles, I am told, for the convenience of selecting such men or women as answer their purposes. At his establishment they make their own bargain with those waiting there. And when the bargain is closed, the employer carries his laborer to his farm, paying Mr. Davis four dollars as his fee in the transaction.

This four dollars, is by agreement deducted from the laborer's first earnings in his new home. It defrays Mr. Davis's expenses in this wide sweeping undertaking. And it also plays this important part, that each employer feels obliged by his interest to keep the laborer till the four dollars have been repaid which he has advanced for him. However dull the men or women may be, or unused to our ways, it is quite certain that they will stay on the farms where they are engaged, till each of them has done four dollars' worth of work. This insures a fair trial on both sides. If then the employer is dissatisfied he may send the emigrant back to Mr. Davis. But if

he engages another in his place, he advances, of course, four dollars more.

I am assured that this very simple system has raised the value of farms in New Jersey very materially; farms now being used as dairy farms, which could not be so used formerly, for want of woman's labor. I do not doubt this, as Mr. Davis alone has thus introduced in four years into New Jersey, several thousand hands. He assured me that he never heard of but two of these persons in the county poor-houses, whom he sent for at once, that he might not have the discredit of introducing paupers into the State. The large proportion of those whom he engages, are women.

I cannot but wish, that some enterprising and humane man, in any agricultural region in New England, would attempt some similar arrangements.

This is the first practical suggestion I have ventured to make in these letters. It is the application of the general principle, to which, in this amazing problem of the "Celtic Exodus," all action of Government, or of individuals, is to be applied. The Irishman must be surrounded by Americans. His children must be Americans. He must not be left in claws in large cities. Better than that it would be for him to stay in the wider space and better ventilation of Connaught. Every facility must be offered to draw him to those scenes where his labor is wanted, and where he and his children have fair chance in their new home.

I have placed at the head of this letter, therefore, the motto, "Stimulate the Absorbents." Every country village throughout the land has its opportunities to furnish a happy home to one or more of these exiles. If every village had absorbed its share—so that the 2,000,000 native Irishmen now in this country were equally distributed through it—we should have in Boston some 10,000, instead of the 40,000 who are so crowding each other there, and whose children die with the most terrible mortality that the civilized world has ever seen. Each country town would have, say eight persons of Irish birth to every hundred of its population, a proportion none too large to give to it those elements of vivacity and good humor, which we are promised our hard-working population shall receive, from this emigration of an exhausted race.

The gradual extension of Catholic church accommodation facilitates this absorption by the country at large of the emigration. Every benevolent person who adopts an Irish orphan from a poor house, assists it. The impression generally held, that the attachment with which the Irish regard their religion, is an obstacle to it, is undoubtedly well founded. But that obstacle is not insuperable. It is broken over every day. I

believe it is a common observation among the Catholic priests, that the Irish workmen engaged on lines of railway far distant from their churches gradually leave their control. I am certain that, for the last year or two, the entire "glut" of the labor market in our large cities, has been such as to put an end almost always to the refusal we were formerly used to, of Irish domestics to go away from towns where there was Catholic worship.

I have never seen reason to believe that the mass of the Irish are attached to the Roman Catholic religion as matter of faith. It is matter of national pride, and of the gallantry of those who lived where it has been persecuted. A Catholic congregation here, under the charge of an English or French priest is almost always restless. They want an Irish priest, for their interest in their faith is, that it was their faith in their oppressed home.

I say this, by the way, however, simply to show that there seems no insuperable obstacle to any system, such as we have now so few attempts for, which should bring laborers, fresh on their arrival, directly into those agricultural regions, which, even in New England, feel so great a want of manual labor.

Every effort for stimulating these absorbents, that the emigration may be more easily distributed, is an advantage to the emigrant himself, and to the country which receives him.

No. VII.

EMIGRANT PAUPERS.—THE LAW OF SETTLEMENT.

I devote this paper to some farther consideration of the arrangements, in the several States for the public relief of those foreigners who, from intemperance, indolence or sickness become paupers.

* In Boston, in 1850, the net expense of relieving paupers, not including interest on the Alms House Establishments, was \$104,405 00 Of the persons relieved 69 per cent. were foreigners.

That proportion of the amount above is \$72,039 45 In all Massachusetts, the expense including interest on Alms House establishments, was \$467,959 42: excluding this, it was \$405,703 13

This was expended on 25,081 persons, of whom 12,334 were foreigners.

The proportion of the above expense incurred for foreigners is \$222,135 34

Expenses for the insane, &c., raised this amount to \$268,852 17

In the city of New York, the charge of all foreigners who have been in the country since the act of 1847 devolves, as has been explained, on the Emigration Commissioners. Wholly exclusive of their expenses, the net expenses of the Governors of the Alms House for Charitable Establishments and Prisons in 1850, were \$380,534 31

Of which for foreign poor was expended \$60,507 05

The Commissioners of Emigration in the same time expended \$369,561 39

In Philadelphia, in the year ending May 21, 1850, the Guardians of the poor expended, net expense \$232,818 76

* The New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore reports for 1851 are not yet published. I therefore retain here the Massachusetts figures for 1850, that the comparisons made in this paper may be more exact.

From our own State documents it appears that in 1851:—

In Boston the net expenses of relief, not including interest of Alms House Establishments was \$117,875

Of the persons relieved here nearly 64 per cent. were foreigners. That proportion of the amount above is \$75,440

In all Massachusetts the expense including interest on cost of establishments was \$484,688 24

Excluding interest it was \$405,653 19

This was expended on 27,624 persons, of whom 12,940 were foreigners.

The proportion, calculated from those numbers, of the above expense incurred for foreigners is \$189,959 20

Besides these, 265 lunatics were maintained at the State Asylum at the charge of the State Treasury.

Of this amount \$125,622 18 was for the support of their immense institution, the Bucksley Alms House. In this establishment in 1848-49, there were received 4,058 foreigners and 2,268 Americans. In 1849-50, there were received 6,747 persons; say 4,325 foreigners and 2,422 Americans.

In Baltimore City and County Alms House, 845 foreigners were received in 1850:— and 765 natives. There were besides 600 when the year began. The State of Maryland having no general pauper law, the smaller counties appear to send their poor quite generally to Baltimore to be supported at the expense of that City and County.

The net charge to the City in 1850, for these, and out-door expenses was	\$ 20,997 46
And to the County	5,523 63
	<hr/> \$ 26,521 09

These items of expense assist us in making out some estimate of the number of foreign paupers receiving public relief in 1850. They are drawn from the few reports of Officers of the Poor which have been printed. Making up the account for the number of persons relieved, it stands thus:—

Boston — Foreigners relieved,	6,144
Other parts of Massachusetts,	6,190
Foreign pauper Lunatics,	169
MASSACHUSETTS,	12,503
New York City —	
Foreigners relieved by Emigration Commission, Hospital and Asylum,	13,885
By Lodging, forwarding, &c.,	14,368
By Board of 10 Governors,	33,038
Other parts of New York —	
Foreigners relieved by Emigration Commission,	5,937
Foreigners relieved by County officers; say	10,000
NEW YORK STATE,	77,228
Philadelphia: City and Districts, [from May '49 to May '50]	
Foreigners — Alms House,	4,325
Out door relief; say	24,000
	<hr/> 28,325
Baltimore; City and County —	
Foreigners — Alms House, about	1,150
Out door relief, about	\$ 2,000
Lunatics,	\$ 2,974
German and Hibernian Societies	\$ 192 say 2,000
	<hr/> 3,150
	<hr/> 121,206

Deficient as these statements are, they give a nearer approach to the number of foreign paupers relieved in the Atlantic States, than you would at first suppose.

The reports from which I have compiled them embrace, it is true, only the States of Massachusetts and New York,

and the cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia. But you will observe that they thus embrace all the Atlantic ports which receive any considerable number of emigrants, and the two largest commercial States. Thirteen-fifteenths of all the emigrants to the country arrive within these limits;—and of the remainder almost all arrive at New Orleans.

On their arrival, it is true, they scatter in different directions. But the custom is becoming universal among the relieving officers of different sea-board States, to consider paupers a charge on the State where they landed. Wherever, therefore, it is an economy to do so, the custom now is general, to pay their passage one stage towards that State. So that in giving these accounts of these States, which are indeed all I can find in print, I am sure that I give a statement very near the whole amount of such relief afforded.

For even in Pennsylvania and Maryland, where no pauper reports are printed but those of Philadelphia and Baltimore, the custom prevails in the interior counties of sending the destitute foreigners to those cities. These cities receive all the head money tax, and, rightly or wrongly, the counties practically compel them to take the charge of emigrants. In Maryland there is no State system for the charge of the poor. The several counties make their own arrangements. Alleghany county makes none, but sends its poor direct to Baltimore. In Pennsylvania they publish no reports of their proceedings, excepting the city and districts of Philadelphia.

The total of persons relieved in 1850 in the places thus indicated, is 121,206. But it must be remembered, that to the larger portion of persons included here the relief afforded is but a trifle. 72,946 of the number received only what is called out door relief in the poor reports; supplies namely of wood, provisions or money, which are given where needed; the whole family relieved being then counted among the paupers of the town. The average amount paid to each person of this class in New York city, by the Board of 10 Governors, is but \$1 62, and probably the average for that class throughout the whole tables, should not be higher than \$2 each. The persons in Alms Houses and Hospitals are those whose relief is most costly, as their destitution is most complete.

The arrangements for foreign paupers of the other Atlantic States of the North are wholly different. In New England every State has its poor-law, based on the principle that each town shall be at the charge of those poor persons who have a "settlement" in it. If then one town relieves a person whose "settlement" is in another town in the same State, the town where he belongs must pay the amount, if it have been properly notified of the fact. The different States, however,

provide very differently for those persons, who, like these emigrant paupers, have no "settlement" any where.

Massachusetts alone, undertakes in a manner, to support them from the Treasury of the State. The amount of this support has been reduced from time to time, and its conditions restricted, but at present this is its general feature, that any town which supports a pauper who does no labor at all, may receive forty-nine cents a week for that support, or, if he be a child, twenty-eight cents a week, from the treasury of the State. Funeral expenses of such persons are also paid by the State. And those who are lunatics, amounting in 1851 to 265, are supported at the Insane Asylum by the State. This relief is rendered to all foreigners, no matter how long they have resided here, unless, which is very unlikely, they have acquired a "settlement" in any town. I say "very unlikely," for, as I shall show, it is very much more difficult to acquire a settlement than to acquire any other of the rights of a citizen.

No other New England State undertakes any such system.

Connecticut alone reimburses her towns for the support of disabled paupers for the first three months that they are chargeable.

In New Hampshire foreign paupers may be made a charge on the *county* treasuries.

In Maine, Vermont and Rhode Island, the overseers of the poor in each town are bound to take care of them, but, — and this is provided in Connecticut and Rhode Island also, *may remove them out of their limits* at discretion.

In fact this removal is the practical measure adopted. The practice, in Connecticut, is called "shouldering them off." — One town sends them a distance of two or three towns, — they are then taken up and forwarded further, till they have crossed the State line.

To a certain extent, the same system is doubtless carried on by poor-boards in Massachusetts. Only their temptation to do so, for saving money to their towns, is reduced very much by the State Treasury's providing fully half the charge of such paupers, — and in the case of insane persons, the whole charge of their support.

The result is, that Massachusetts supports 13,205 foreign paupers from her State and local Treasuries, 265 of them in the expensive care of her Insane Asylum: — while all the other New England States do not, probably, have the charge of one half that number.

This is the first result of her system with regard to them.

The second result is no less unfortunate.

The duty of relief is left to 320 local boards. It is wholly impossible for these boards to act at all in concert,—in fact they are, as regards the economics of their position, direct enemies of each other. Not only so, however, but they find, by our legislation, a burden thrown upon them from neighbor States, of foreign pauperism, of which the State undertakes to bear a considerable part. It is impossible to expect such boards to care for any Treasury but that of their own town. That they will care for. But whatever they can draw from the State Treasury, they will draw. And the State Government therefore has been obliged to guard itself against undue drafts of this kind, by sending Commissioners from town to town,—in the hope that by two or three annual visits, they may solve the intricacies of the mass of accounts which go to making up the pauper charges of the Commonwealth.

A single illustration of this wretched result, where town boards are spending other people's money, is in the case of bonded paupers. Complaints are already made by ship owners who have given bonds for the sick expenses of emigrants landing, that the poor boards of Massachusetts make the most exorbitant charges when such people come into their keeping. This is to be regretted; but it is not to be expected, that without any supervision, or inducement to economy, they should do otherwise. I have already shown, in my letter No. 4, how this action has tended to the injury of our packet lines.

The next result which I will mention, is the eagerness of the towns to prevent foreigners from acquiring a "settlement" with them. It is of course desirable to have as large a class dependent on the State Treasury and as small a one dependent on the town treasury as possible.

Here the State, enamored, as it would seem, of its Public Pauper expense, encourages the towns by the great stringency of its laws of "settlement."

It is not too much to say that not one in a hundred of the foreigners now in Massachusetts, or of the children of foreign birth have yet acquired "settlement" here, or that one in five of the adult emigrants arriving here ever will. The law requires citizenship, and a continued residence in one town of ten years, with payment, in that time, of five years' taxes.—Even the children of persons who have not gained this settlement, though they have been born and grown up in the town, do not acquire settlement for themselves.

The result is, a perpetual enlargement of the class of "State Paupers," with all its evil results,—while the whole theory of our pauper system was that towns who have the benefit of a population shall support it, and the State only meant to assume the burden of those who were vagrants, perpetually moving from town to town.

In the present arrangements of our industry, where frequent removal from one manufacturing town to another is the future, almost necessary, of every enterprising workman, it is indeed a pity that that removal should throw him and his family, in any case of destitution, out of the list of those for whom the town he lives in should provide. A statute intended merely to assume the charge of vagrants, should not so describe them as to include half the working men of the State.

In 1850 I made application to the Overseers of the Poor on behalf of a man who moved into the town in 1832. In 1841 he removed from it for six months. He returned in 1842, and from that time he paid his taxes for eight years. He had been naturalized in the proper form also. Seventeen years of residence had not given him a "settlement," however, because they were not continuous,—nor had tax-paying, nor citizenship. He could not be relieved therefore as a pauper belonging to the town. I may add that the overseers would gladly have relieved him as a State pauper, and wished to do so, but that, from the time of that relief he would have been obliged to have begun a new ten years' probation. The children of this man,—all born in the town, were in like wise a charge to the State Treasury.

It will be observed that this stringent law does not in the least affect the necessity of supporting the persons who have no "settlement." It only creates in every town of the State a class of persons, most of whom have lived there for years probably, from whom every year come those poor persons who are chargeable in part to the State Treasury, in the anomalous and unsystematic way I have described, instead of the town treasury, according to the simple old Saxon arrangement, which we had from the beginning.

No other New England State is nearly so strict. Massachusetts requires ten years' residence.

Maine " five "

New Hampshire " seven years' poll tax.

Vermont " four " residence.

Connecticut " six "

Rhode Island three years' residence to entitle one to support.

To such extent do these States provide more carefully for foreign paupers than does Massachusetts. They give them support, that is, in the town which has been made their home, by a residence of years.

But with us the existence of a class who almost never earn "settlement" is perpetual trouble and cause of useless expense. The temptation is immense to send them to some other town where they have friends, or think a better chance will open to them. Ten thousand dollars a year is a small estimate for

the amount paid by the public to keep such persons in motion ; and it is almost money wasted. For while Paxton is sending a man to Lowell, Lowell may be sending one to his cousin in Fitchburg, and Fitchburg sending another to Paxton. With a milder law,—if, for instance, citizenship, and three or four years' residence gave a "settlement," such difficulties would be much reduced, and the whole system be made more simple, and therefore cheaper.

I know how hard it will be to persuade the Legislature to interfere with the "Law of Settlement." I know it is a statute of great antiquity. But I do not hesitate to say that, till it is amended, humanity and economy are alike impossible, in the distribution of our magnificent, our more than princely public charities. And I must say, that because it is so ancient, it is quite time that it were adapted to the circumstances arising in the last quarter century.

It was made for a State, of native-born population. It was fair that a town which had reared a man should support him in his age, unless he had lived long elsewhere. There were very few persons in Massachusetts, not born in Massachusetts. And it was but seldom that there was need for a man to move from one town to another, except to reside there for life.

But now we have created a manufacturing interest. Its exigencies vacillate. For their purposes we have made movement easy. If needed at Lawrence, 2000 masons and builders can *debouch* upon Lawrence, and do their work there. We want them to do so. Our prosperity depends on this facility. How idle, then, to retain that arrangement of law, which treats men who for seven, eight or nine years, have established a residence in a town, so created, as if they were *vagrants* there !

Again :—our population is no longer native born. A tenth part of it, probably more, is foreign. Yet the presence of that population is an immense benefit to the towns where it is found. True, the new-comers may be a burden on the towns which have them. But in three or four years, the worth of such persons to a town is as great as it will ever be. And it is but fair that such residents should, in case of necessity, be a charge to the town which they have worked in, and have enriched.

The fairest system of settlement in matters of pauperism, would be, to say that that town should care for a pauper emigrant, in which he had lived the longest since he was of age. But if this seem too complicated, a system, such as I will now give a sketch of, of less detail, will answer our general purposes.

Recognize it as a principle, that a man who has resided three years in a town, has earned a right, in time of need, to its charities; to support from its own treasury, such as it now gives, part from its own, and part from the State's treasury.

Then you may acknowledge, that those not permanent residents for three years in any town, have no claim upon its treasury, but shold be supported wholly from the State's treasury. They are now supported partly from the town and partly from the State.

By this distinct sub-division of charge, each party bears what it ought to bear. There is one point gained, that the system is just. But, more than this, because just, it becomes simple, and can be simply administered, which, with the present system, is wholly impossible.

Under this general classification, which is, virtually, that of New York, I will now add some suggestions of detail. To speak of the class, which under this plan would be wholly a State charge, I have suggested that for persons not three years settled in one town, the State should take the whole care. Such persons have not acquired any claim on particular towns. On the State treasury they almost all *have a claim*, for all who landed here have paid two dollars each to it, on exact condition that it should care for them in misfortune. Of these, the larger portion who became chargeable would be those who had recently arrived. In 1850, 1811 persons relieved in Massachusetts had been only one year in the State. In 1851, there were 2000. Of persons desiring relief in any one year, who had been here three years, there would be perhaps 3000.

Suppose these wholly the care of the State. It could arrange for the cheap care of those sick among them much more economically than the towns to whose expenses it now contributes. For those near Boston, it has already the buildings which would be needed at Rainsford Island.

Such an arrangement for 3000 persons, would cost, at the rates for which the New York commissioners succeed in discharging similar duty, \$32,310 annually, and with little or no expense in the preparation of buildings.

The Hospital at Rainsford Island should be fitted for the accommodation of the sick in the neighborhood of Boston. Inexpensive buildings like those till recently in use at Deer Island, and still used at Ward's Island, New York, would answer all additional purposes. Two other hospital establishments in other parts of the State, with arrangements for the care of children, and other persons not able to labor, would complete the necessary arrangements.

Allowing that the extra expenses of a beginning, would bring the amount of the first year's expense to a charge of \$50,000 upon the State Treasury, here would be an economy at once to that Treasury, from the expenses of 1850, of \$53,987.

Another advantage would be, that the State could arrange for forwarding new comers to distant homes, or sending them back to their old homes when necessary ; measures which the towns cannot take.

The State could also collect all forfeits due on bonds, which in many cases now, are left uncollected, the town authorities not knowing they are due. Again, the sending of these poor people about unnecessarily, would be wholly at an end.

So much for the relief to the State's Treasury. There would be this relief to its conscience, that, when taking two dollars from each of these poor people on his arrival, its promise to take care of him in need would mean something definite.

It will be understood of course, that this measure does not relieve a person not now relieved, of necessity, under our cumbrous and complicated system. It only simplifies the responsibility.

Turning to the town treasuries and consciences, it will be observed :—

That there will be an end of introduction of paupers from the rest of New England greater than is met by their outgoing from Massachusetts :

That traveling expenses within the State is saved :

That the accounts will be greatly simplified :

That no persons need be supported in the Poor Houses but those well known in the towns :

That there is an end to the present temptation to keep *foreign paupers idle*, so that the towns may draw, for them, on the State Treasury.*

With all these savings effected to the towns, it cannot be doubted that their charges for the paupers not under the care of the State would be lessened also, from those they now bear.

The State would know what it was doing. The towns would know what they were doing.

Under the present inaction of the Federal Government in this matter, I do not see but it would still be necessary to send to New York or other States, paupers who have arrived there and paid their head-money there, and to receive from them

*A town in the western part of the State, some years since, forfeited its claim for twenty-five dollars from the State treasury, for support of an old woman, because it was proved *she could rock a cradle!* The decision was doubtless correct under the law.

those arriving here whom they choose to send. It is true that this is an enlargement of the wretched "shouldering" system. But it cannot be helped, while Congress takes no notice of the fact that 300,000 men and women arrive here annually from beyond seas.

Possibly between large importing States, as New York and Massachusetts, informal agreements might be made, to exchange charges against each other; we would retain a hundred of their people against each hundred of ours whom they could show us that they were caring for.

No. VIII.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT ON EMIGRATION. CONCLUSION.

In pursuing the inquiry, which in this letter I close, I began with the action of foreign governments in promoting emigration; I spoke next of the emigrant's efforts for himself; next of what is done for him by private persons and societies here, and by the City and State governments, separately. In any other nation than ours, it would have seemed natural to ask first, what view the National Government took of this annual invasion of three or four hundred thousand souls; and to have begun by enumerating the inducements offered by it to emigrants, the information it extends to them; its oversight of their movement, and its care of their sick and ignorant.

It happens, however, that by an exaggeration of the let-alone system, really lamentable in its consequences, the National Government, having arranged even its naturalization laws with difficulty, has passed by, almost entirely, all other considerations in this matter.

There is an annual return made by the Department of State at Washington of the number of males and females who have arrived in the United States from different countries, in the year ending on the 30th of September. Of the defects of this return I spoke in my letter No. III. Defective as its plan, its execution has never come up even to that.

The Supreme Court of the United States, Feb. 7, 1849, decided the emigration laws then existing, of the Northern States to be unconstitutional.* The Government thus forced on

* From this decision the Chief Justice, and Judges Daniell, Nelson and Woodbury dissented. I have heard it said by gentlemen whose opinion has authority, that the weight of the court was on one side, though the majority was on the other.

those States the round-about way in which they now collect their emigration revenue, as described in my letter No. IV.

These two efforts of the National Government and the law regulating ships for passage are, with the partial exception of the old naturalization laws, the only notice it has taken of the fact that a world of emigrants is landing in America, whose numbers are now nearly 400,000 a year. They show the only provision it makes for their comfort on arrival, or for forwarding them to its distant Western lands, which they are to occupy and make valuable.

An effort made in 1850, to give from the national domain some support to the lunatic asylums of the States which are now overflowing, from the necessity of caring for foreigners who are insane,—was lost. It owed its death to the negligence of New England members, whose States are tremendously taxed for the want of such a provision.

In face of this singular inaction of Congress we have the fact, that the National Government only, under the ruling of its own courts, has the right to collect a revenue from the arrival of passengers. For the revenues received by the States are *voluntarily paid* by ship-owners, who wish thus to avoid inconvenient obligations.

And, yet again, no one can fail to observe the fact to which I have alluded, that to the ready transfer of the emigrant population to the West, the Government owes all the worth of its Western lands.

Yet it will be as readily seen, that the great advantage which is, undoubtedly, derived to the country from this great emigration, is an advantage very unequally distributed. The Western States gain the cream of it. Men and women who are able-bodied and have property, go thither at once, and settle. The "lame, blind, deaf, idiotic and lunatic," as our statutes describe them, are strained off by the Eastern States, and remain to fill up our alms-houses and hospitals.

In the last paper of this series, we have seen, how, under present arrangements, New York will send to Philadelphia foreign paupers "belonging" there,—that is, who have paid head money there; at the very moment while Philadelphia sends to New York those who "belong" there. They pass each other on the way. And, in this extravagant system, nothing is to prevent such constant waste by traveling to and fro, but difficult informal negotiations between State officers, or some action of the National Government.

As things are, if an Irishman who had landed in Boston should lose an arm in Pittsburg, and become dependent on the Pennsylvania authorities, they would, in all probability, send him along, from step to step,—different local boards preferring

to give him a railroad ticket than to keep him on their hands, till after long suffering, he arrived in Boston, where he "belonged." He might probably enough meet and pass on the way, a countryman who had landed in Baltimore, and was being passed along in like fashion to that city from the North. I have seen this done in Philadelphia, and the authorities of that city and of Baltimore make no secret of it. They regard the emigrant, as we have seen, as a charge on the place where he lands,—and if any thing can be saved by the process, they send him on his way thither.

So reckless a waste and inhumanity as this will continue, until the National Government itself collects the revenue from these arrivals, and itself applies it to their benefit.

The cases of lunatics seem as hard upon the States which have taken any pains to support them. Let them serve here as illustrations of the whole affair.

Massachusetts was the first government in the world to establish at the public expense lunatic asylums, for the well ordered relief of the insane, whether rich or poor. She has earned some credit for doing so. Would it have been supposed that the doing so was simply a bounty for the empire of Great Britain, on the one hand, and the new States of the American Union on the other, to burden the State of Massachusetts with the full charge of the Irish men and women, who have become insane in that empire—or in the excitement of movement to those States? Is it fair that the thing should be left so? Left so it is. So that at this moment we are erecting a new lunatic asylum, because our present one is overcrowded with more than two hundred lunatics of foreign birth, who have no support but that of the State's treasury; whom Great Britain has sent away,—often at the public's expense,—and by whose relatives and countrymen the new States are growing richer every hour. The public charge of Massachusetts for such persons is larger I think, than that of any State in the Union, New York not excepted.

This is but an illustration of the proportion which this State is bearing of every charitable charge of this kind. It is, I know, the hardest illustration; but of the \$600,000 which this state pays in one form or another of public tax for the relief of the poor, the history of a great deal is the same. The Bill for Lunatic Asylums, lost last year in Congress, as I said, in consequence of New England inattention, would have helped that one matter. But a general system only will treat the emigrant humanely and the several States fairly.

It is the interest of every section of the country to see that

the National Government does take the whole care, and the humane care of newly arrived emigrants into its hands.

The West is interested, because thus only can a system be organized for the better transfer thither of that labor which is a drug in the Atlantic cities. No Western gentleman, well informed, fails to say that they can employ every man and woman, in health, who can get there.

The sea-board States are interested, because thus the pauper and hospital expenses which fall so heavily on them, could be borne by a government which would have power to collect a capitation tax on arrivals large enough to meet them. Head money at the rate of three dollars a passenger would amply meet the expenses of a series of hospitals for the sick, and other necessities of emigrants not yet fairly established.

Humanity, I need not say, demands some such arrangement in lieu of the complicated interferences between State and State, and town and town, which now compel relieving officers to regard the foreign pauper as a pest, and go so far to debar him from the sympathy which in all other cases misfortune and poverty command.

The case is illustrated, by the care, which, in fact, the National Government takes for seamen. The duty is just that which it owes to the emigrants who are not yet domiciliated. In the case of seamen it undertakes to discharge it.

The seaman's labors benefit the whole country. It is, however, impossible that he shall be beyond the need of occasional relief, in sickness or misfortune. The government, therefore, takes a fraction of his wages to establish the funds which shall support hospitals for his sickness and other provisions for his decline.

So the emigrant benefits the whole country. It is, however, impossible that he shall be beyond the need of occasional relief in sickness or misfortune. As impossible is it that any small community where he suffers shall be expected to bear his charges, when all the benefits of emigration are reaped by some far-distant region. It is for the government of the nation to take a trifle from him in his prosperity with which to support hospitals for his sickness and other provisions for his decline.

But with this general statement of the duty of the national government, I leave the only solution which is to be offered of the problem, "How can government provide with system and humanity, for the emigrant?" I know that this is no place to enter into details with regard to action, for which there is no immediate prospect.

I HAVE intentionally passed over to this point more than a suggestion of the great value of the emigration of which I have been arranging these statistics. I cannot properly embody the results of them, or of these inquiries, without stating more fully what is the nature and the immensity of the gift which God has thus made to this nation.

As to its nature, there needs here to be said only this,—that the Irish emigration, as we see it,—the Celtic Exodus, as it has been called,—seems as clearly to belong to the established, uninterrupted fortune of the Celtic race, as if it had been the immediate result of battle and bloody defeat. It will be remembered that within the scope of written history, this Celtic race,—speaking a language of kin to its language of to-day, marked with the same signs of physical conformation,—held, without intermixture of foreign races, all Western Europe, including parts even of Italy. Since that period of wide extent, its fortunes are dark in parts; but this much is clear, that the clans which composed it have been perpetually divided among themselves, and in contest against Gothic or other waves of population, pressing upon them from the East, that they have constantly lost ground. Whether it is defeat by Camillus or by Cæsar, or by the Ostrogoths or the Danes, or the Saxons or Cromwell, defeat is their history, not, of course, in every battle, but certainly in the experience of each single generation. Such defeats have driven them further and further westward, and have absorbed more and more of their race, either to enrich the battle-fields, or to serve as the slaves or as the wives of the conquerors,—until the last two centuries have seen it pure only in its western fastnesses. Through those centuries it has stood at bay on the headlands of western England and France, and, I suppose, Spain: it has had full inhabitancy, though not the government, of most of Ireland and northern Scotland. Those points of the world are to be looked upon just like the “Indian Leap,” or the Mount Kinneo of our own legends; they are the last resting-places where a great gallant race has been driven in by its conquerors, before their last destructive attack upon it.

This last attack the conquerors have now made;—not intentionally, but because they did not know how to resist their destiny; not as Cromwell destroyed the Irish at Drogheda, or as Cæsar attacked the Treviri, but in the more destructive, though more kindly meant, invasion, of modern systems of agriculture, manufactures and commerce. The untaught and wretched Irish Celt, of the pure blood, could no more stand the competition of the well-compactcd English social system than could his progenitors or their kinsmen stand the close-

knit discipline of Cæsar's legions. In the effort to stand it, poor Ireland counts her millions of slain. They have died of deaths more terrible than battle, and the rest, conscious of their last defeat, have nothing left for it but to flee farther yet westward, and leave their old homes to this invasion which will not end.

But this westward faring is now a plunge into the sea. And, at just the needed moment, Providence sends the needed means to relieve it. For, till times quite recent, till the large shipments, that is, of cotton eastward from this country, the large shipments of men and women westward would have been impossible at the cheap rates which, only, have made them any relief to Ireland. As it is they are the only relief after this last struggle of hers. The beaten Celts pass westward again. The American empty cotton ships are lying ready to pick up the defeated stragglers. But it is no longer an emigration in mass; this time it has no chief, like those of which Cæsar tells us; it has no discipline; it is only a horde of discouraged, starved, beaten men and women. There is no empty country for them to pour in upon; they sail in Saxon vessels to Saxon shores, for the Gothic or Germanic tide of life has got before them. They must, as beaten men, seek its hospitalities. It drives them from the East, it receives them at the West, and their separate existence as a Celtic race is at an end.

The Irish emigration, then, is the dispersion, after its last defeat, of a great race of men, which, in one way or another, has been undergoing defeat for centuries. In the order of history it is our duty to receive the scattered fugitives, give them welcome, absorb them into our own society, and make of them what we can. This point of view suggests the whole spirit in which in these letters I speak of them. They are fugitives from defeat, or, without a metaphor, fugitives from slavery. Every Irishman who leaves Ireland for America seems to be as really driven thence, by the intentional or unintentional arrangements of stronger nations, as if he had made a stand in fight on the beach at Galway, and been driven by charged bayonets into the sea. We are, or ought to be, welcoming these last wrecks of so many centuries of retreat. And if I speak bitterly of the utter inattention in which our government leaves this duty,—of the complete want of system of our State Legislature, and its complete recklessness of the fact that these undisciplined stragglers are taking refuge here,—it will be because there is a shameless inconsistency in such indifference. Here in Massachusetts we writhe and struggle, really with one heart, lest we return one fugitive who can possibly be saved

to Southern slavery; but when there come these fugitives from "Irish Bastilles," as they call them, we tax them first and neglect them afterwards, and provide by statute, and take care, in fact, to send back to Ireland at the public expense, poor creatures who are as entirely fugitives from a grinding slavery as if their flight had been north instead of west;—fugitives, indeed, who come in obedience to an unchanging law of human movement, which we can no more sweep back than could Mrs. Partington sweep back the sea.

So much for the humanity of our system. Its impolicy is as glaring. If this view of the pure Celtic race is correct, it is, at this moment, useless in the world, except, as Mr. Emerson has said, for the guano that is in it. There its value cannot be counted. But for his active purposes the Almighty has done with it. What it may have been in the past He knows, or what unseen good it has sought He knows. We can only measure it by the lower standard of visible external success. And there we can see this,—that in the epochs of written history, the pure race has done nothing positive for mankind, and been nothing but a monument of failure. I cannot recall any master-work of art, of science, of politics, of religion, or of letters which the world owes to it. Such inexplicable uselessnesses as Stonehenge; such histories as the wretched feuds of Irish Chieftains; such brilliancies as Moore's verses, or as the unconvincing and ineffective eloquence of the Irish liberals, are the fragments which it leaves behind it,—a race which, in its pure blood, has done nothing. It has proved itself excellent to be absorbed. It has been of the greatest value, as a race crossed in with other races. England chiefly, and France in a measure, and Italy in a less degree, show what elements of greatness it can furnish in intermixture. And that is all.

That inefficiency of the pure Celtic race furnishes the answer to the question. How much use are the Irish to us in America? The Native American answer is, "none at all." And the Native American policy is to keep them away.

A profound mistake, I believe, for the precise reason that, in the pure blood they are so inefficient as compared with the Saxon and other Germanic races which receive them, I am willing to adopt the Native American point of view, and to speak with an *esprit du corps*, as one of the race invaded.

If this were a superior race, a race of superior ability coming in on us, we might well complain. If I were a Japanese, with Japanese *esprit du corps*, I should have every reason to keep up the Japanese policy, and exclude, as they do, all races superior in practical ability, from coming in. They would be sure to rise above me and mine and crush us down.

Thus the free blacks in Baltimore, complain very naturally, of the emigration thither of the Germans. The Germans work better and cheaper than the blacks can, bring into competition the superior executive faculty of the white race, and the poor blacks, whose ability is in other directions, are crowded out, and have to go to the wall. Now if we Americans, were likewise inferior in ability of such sorts to the Celts, we might complain too. But this is not true. We are here, well organized, and well trained, masters of the soil, the very race before which they have yielded everywhere besides. It must be, that when they come in among us, they come to lift us up. As sure as water and oil each finds its level they will find theirs. So far as they are mere hand-workers they must sustain the head-workers, or those who have any element of intellectual ability. Their inferiority as a race compels them to go to the bottom; and the consequence is that we are, all of us, the higher lifted because they are here.

This is no figure of speech: it is the exact fact in affairs. The supposition that any part of the world can be too much crowded, is, thus far, not proved by any experience. As Mr. Webster says, "there is always room enough higher up." What seem crowded countries, are really only countries where the lines of promotion are not well arranged. Take this specific case of Celtic Ireland and Massachusetts; the county of Galway, one of the most suffering counties of Ireland, has not so dense a population as we have, though you add in the population of the city of Galway. The population in Massachusetts is 127 to the square mile. That of Galway city and county is only 91 to the square mile. Estimating the area of the three Catholic provinces at 22,530 square miles, the average population of the Celtic parts of Ireland is not more than 200 to the square mile, a ratio not so much larger as to be, in itself, any explanation of great social suffering there.

It is clear enough however, that there must, in any community, be manual labor. The soil is to be tilled and the roads built and repaired. If it has more than men enough for this, some can be released to higher duties. The number so released depends on the degree of its civilization. For in merely barbarous communities, the labor of a family only keeps that one family alive. Then there is no surplus for higher occupations. In civilized communities one hand-working family can produce much more than it will consume of the necessities of life. There are therefore, in proportion, laborers released for duties of a higher grade.

This is all simple and of course. If now, into the vessel of oil, you pour water, the water floats the oil above itself

on its surface. If into the civilized community made up of hand-workers, and workers in higher grades, you pour in an infusion of a population competent at first only to the simplest hand-work, they take the lowest place, and lift the others into higher places. They do the manual labor. They do it most cheaply, and so they leave those, whom they find, free to other and more agreeable walks of duty. Thus, practically, at this moment, our simplest drudgery of factory work and farm work comes into the hands of Irishmen. It does not follow that the natives who must otherwise have performed it, do nothing or starve. They are simply pushed up, into foremen of factories, superintendents of farms, railway agents, machinists, inventors, teachers, artists, &c.; filling classes of society, some of which we could not else have had so well; some of which we could not have had at all.

I say they do not starve; for there is, as yet, no limit to the country's production; and by every laboring man who arrives, the danger of starvation becomes less and less. Nor is there any danger of a want of employment. Employment under our institutions, is not a fixed quantity; which cannot be enlarged. The more men there are, the more employment there is; in one walk or another.

Of course the rate of money wages paid does not affect the transaction; for the plethora of manual labor will keep down the price of the necessities of life, so that the money rates of wages may range as they choose.

The simile of a pyramid is perfect here, I believe. A community is a pyramid; with its base of manual labor, supporting some higher classes of effort. The larger the pyramid; the larger, that is, the population of the community, the higher the position of the apex. But if now, you choose to exclude the population of manual laborers which at this moment forms your basis; you cannot keep your apex where it has been. There must be a basis; though it is not necessary there should be so high an apex as there has been. Exclude your foreign population, and your whole fabric sinks. You find you have still men at hard and loathsome labor. They are now your own sons. You have lost what you had; the highest results of your civilization. For every grade descended when you moved the lowest grade away.

In fact, by every spade blow which foreign hands have driven, by every child which foreign mothers in their own homes have reared to this country, is the country richer for the coming of the foreigner. By the worth of every spade blow, by the worth of every child would the country be poorer if it debarred them from this *privilege*, of doing its meanest

work, and of taking its hardest fare, and yet, as that work is the only work absolutely necessary, the only work which we must have; as theirs is the only duty which we cannot do without, into their places must sink down those who are now in less painful duty; and into *their* places would come those who are in more thoughtful duty yet. The whole organization of our society must descend: the whole fabric of our civilization be degraded. That would be the end of your quarantine, of your bars and bolts, of your successful restrictions. You would still have laborers on the rail-road, and canal, and factory. Those you must have! You would have pressed into that service those fit for better things; and the restriction you have made is a surrender of so much civilization, so much wealth, so much refinement. You thought these men were ignorant ditchers and delvers. To your eye they were. But God, when he supplied them, was freeing other laborers for your higher and wider uses, to be your men of ingenuity and of trade, and of letters. And he punishes your unkindness, by such a change of the duties of your own people, that from the unknown regions of what might have been, you have kept artists and poets, and statesmen, who were coming in upon you, of your own blood and land and lineage. You have chained them to the spade, and the barrow, and the pickaxe. For if you will not let the foreigner stand upon your land even to hew your wood or to draw your water, you will chain down to that service the Burns, the Phaedrus, the Homer, who might have risen and triumphed among your own sons!

It is said, often, that without these emigrants, we could not have had our rail-roads and canals. We should have lost some of them; some we must have had. We should have lost higher refinements entirely. To reduce these general propositions to illustrations, such features of civilization as are Harpers' printing establishments; as the Athenæum Library, or the Observatory at Cambridge, or any newspaper in Boston could not have been called into being in their present perfect form, had not this nation had the free gifts for years of these millions of men and women of work, for whose nursing, training, and growth it had never paid a penny. Its charges for their few sick and poor, are but the merest entrance fees, for the registry of a tribute to it of inestimable value. *

It is true, that to attain the full use of this gift, the emigrant must be cared for. In other words, the country must open its hand to receive the offering of Europe. I have been hoping to

* See Appendix B.

show something of the way in which this is to be done. The stranger cannot serve the country while he is a stranger. He must be a part of it. He must, for the purpose we seek, profit by the measure of its civilization. He must be directed by its intelligence. His children must grow up in its institutions. He must be, not in a clan in a city, surrounded by his own race. That is only to try a little longer the experiment which for centuries has failed. He must plunge, or be plunged, into his new home.

And, therefore, as I have intimated already, private action and public policy in this matter should unite to "stimulate the absorbents," that each little duct, the country through, may drink its share, of those drops which some do not taste at all, of the perpetual Westward flood, as it comes in.

There is no reason for despair about this. The process goes on to a much greater extent than is generally supposed. It is true we hear most of the clanned Irish in the large cities. This is of course. They are the only part of the emigration from whom we can hear much. But, from a hasty comparison of memoranda, I should say that there were not more than

120,000	of Irish birth in New York city,
30,000	" " " Boston,
30,000	" " " Philadelphia,
10,000	" " " Baltimore,
10,000	" " " Providence,
8,000	" " " Lowell.

Of Pittsburg, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, I cannot speak; but I doubt if in any other place in America, there is a larger clan than the least of these.

The total of these; say 250,000, leaves nearly 2,000,000 Irish born emigrants, who have been scattered up and down, in smaller localities, through the land.

So much has been done. Every consideration of humanity and policy demands that, by every means the process should be carried farther, out to the least subdivision possible.

Private men may do their duty to the emigration, by employing, training, teaching and directing the emigrant; even to the point of making work on purpose to employ him. He, who takes the newest comer does most. Of such men, Mr. Davis, of whom I have spoken, in New Jersey, working for his own interest, is still working for the country, and seems to be our foremost hero. She who teaches a servant girl to read does a great deal. The family which adopts an orphan of the foreign blood does more than its share. For, as I have said,

the proportion as yet is but eight emigrants to every hundred natives.

The State should stop at once its effort to sweep them back. It cannot do it. It ought not to do it. It should welcome them; register them; send them at once to the labor needing regions; care for them if sick; and end, by a system, all that mass of unsystematic statute which handles them as outcasts or Pariahs.

The Federal Government, having all the power, should use it; not growling in its manger, as it does, and only hindering those, upon whom, in its negligence, the duty falls.

And Nation, State, or man should feel that the Emigration is the greatest instead of the least element of our material prosperity; an element which should brace us to meet and handle any difficulties, real or fancied, which it may bring to our institutions of politics or of religion.

APPENDIX,

[A. PAGE 23.]

IRISH CENSUS.

PROVINCE OF LEINSTER.	1841, [June 7.]	1851, [March 31.]
Carlow,	86,228	68,157
Drogheda Town,	16,261	16,876
Dublin City,	232,726	254,850
Dublin,	140,047	147,506
Kildare,	114,488	96,627
Kilkenny City,	19,071	20,283
Kilkenny,	183,349	139,934
Kings,	146,857	112,875
Longford,	115,491	83,198
Lowth,	111,979	91,045
Meath,	183,828	139,706
Queens,	153,930	109,747
Westmeath,	141,300	107,510
Wexford,	202,033	180,170
Wicklow,	126,143	99,287
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.	1,973,731	1,667,771
Males, 963,747 ; Females, 1,009,984 ; Males, 811,623 ; Females, 856,148.		

PROVINCE OF MUNSTER.	1841	1851
Clare,	286,394	212,720
Cork City,	80,720	86,485
Cork,	773,398	551,152
Kerry,	293,880	238,241
Limerick City,	48,391	55,268
Limerick,	281,638	201,619
Tipperary,	435,553	323,829
Waterford City,	23,216	26,667
Waterford,	172,971	135,836
<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total.	2,396,161	1,831,817
Males, 1,186,190 ; Females, 1,209,971. Males, 893,491 ; Females, 938,326.		

PROVINCE OF ULSTER.

Antrim,	276,188	250,355
Armagh,	232,393	196,420
Belfast,	75,308	99,660
Carrickfergus Town,	9,379	8,488
Cavan,	243,158	174,303
Donegal,	296,448	254,288
Down,	361,446	317,778
Fermanagh,	156,481	115,978
Londonderry,	222,174	191,744
Monaghan,	200,442	143,410
Tyrone,	312,956	251,865

Total. 2,386,373

2,004,289.

Males, 1,161,797; Females, 1,224,576. | Males, 974,235; Females, 1,030,054

PROVINCE OF CONNAUGHT.

Galway,	422,923	298,129
Galway Town,	17,275	24,697
Leitrim,	155,297	111,808
Mayo,	388,887	274,716
Roscommon,	253,591	173,798
Sligo,	180,886	128,769

Total. 1,418,859

1,011,916

Males, 707,842; Females, 711,017. | Males, 497,378; Females, 514,539.

Grand Total Ireland,	8,175,124	6,515,794
Males,	4,019,576	3,176,727
Females,	4,155,548	3,339,067

[B.]

PROPORTIONS OF ORIGINAL RACES IN AMERICA.

IN writing these letters to the Boston Daily Advertiser, I attempted to confine myself to the facts which directly affect legislation or charitable action. There is, however, a curious question as to the effect to be produced on National character, by the intermixture of blood and race produced by such large emigration as we see.

What I have said in my last letter has been carefully guarded, so as to refer everywhere to the absolutely *unmixed* Celtic race. Of its value as intermixed, I have spoken as highly as I could. An anxious question is asked, however, by men of the old American blood, whether there is not an over-preponderance of the Celtic element coming in upon us?

I do not profess to answer the question. It rests on the prior question, how far the origin of the native American blood is Celtic. In what proportions do the Celtic and Gothic or Germanic elements mingle in the Englishman of to-day, and of course in the American of to-day?

Dr. Kombst estimates in 1841, that there are of	
pure German blood in England,	10,000,000
Of mixed blood, where the Teutonic prevailed	
in England and the north-east of Ireland,	6,000,000
Of mixed blood, where the Celtic prevailed in	
England, Scotland and Ireland,	4,000,000
And of pure Celtic, in Scotland, Wales and	
Ireland,	6,000,000

But Dr. Latham, with more reason, I think, doubts the purity of any Germanic blood in England, saying that "a vast amount of Celticism not found in our tongue, very probably exists in our pedigrees." And in another place he says, that in nine-tenths of the displacements of races made by conquest, the female half of the ancestry of the present inhabitants must have belonged to the beaten race. I think the history of the Saxon invasions is such as to give color to this idea in the case of England. And I am not sure, but what it could be made out, that the American people, before the recent Irish invasion, showed in their proportion of black-haired men, of

dark complexion, and other Celtic signs that as large a fraction as two-thirds of its blood ran, in the dark ages of the past, in Celtic veins.

If this be so,—if the proportion, two-thirds Celtic to one-third Gothic or Germanic, is the proportion which makes up that “perfect whole,” the “true American,” which considers itself so much finer than either of the ingredients, the recent emigrations furnish a happy coincidence with the original law. For five past years, the arrivals at New York, which are three-fourths the whole and represent it in kind exactly, have been 547,173 Irish; 278,458 Germans; 153,969 English and Scotch; 71,359 others. Now keep these 71,359 “others” for condiments in the mixture. There are Norwegians and French, Belgians and Spaniards, Swiss and Italians, balanced against each other, (and a few Magyars.) The English, of course, we need not count; but of pure Celts and pure Germans we have to a fraction just two to one; and in that proportion are they to affect the blood of the American people.

This computation, which I had prepared before I read a courteous article in the American Celt, of Jan. 24th, will perhaps show to the writer of that paper, that we are not so far apart in our views as he supposed.

[C.]

The valuable statistics below from M. H. Perley, Esq., Emigrant Inspector at St. John's, came into my possession as this sheet was passing the press. It is too late for me to incorporate them into the text, but I am glad to insert them here.

The abstract return of Emigration to New Brunswick during the year ending 31 Dec. 1851, is as follows:—

Quarter.	No. of vessels.	Deaths on the voyage.	Births on the voyage.	Adults.		Between 14 & 1 yr.		Under 1 year.		Totals.		Whole number of sons	Recapit'n.
				M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.	M.	F.		
Q'ter ending March 31.													
“ “ June 30	20	6	3	819	764	274	273	38	37	1131	1074	2205	Males 1789
“ “ Sept. 30.	14	1	3	347	326	181	149	21	24	549	459	1048	Females 1681
“ “ Dec. 31.	9			73	72	32	33	4	3	109	105	217	Total 3470
Totals—	43	7	3	1239	1162	487	455	63	64	1789	1681	3470	

The Emigration to this Province fluctuates very much; during the last ten years it has been as follows:—

	Souls.		Souls.
1842,	8,320	1847,	16,251
1843,	392	1848,	4,141
1844,	2,695	1849,	2,671
1845,	6,133	1850,	1,507
1846,	9,657	1851,	3,470

Of the Emigrants of 1851, about one-half proceeded to the United States at once, their passage money being paid through, by friends residing there. All the Emigrants of last season were from Ireland.

The arrivals in Canada during the season of 1851, have been returned by Mr. Buchanan in the following comparative form, between 1850 and 1851, distinguishing their several countries:—

	1850.		1851.	
	Cabin.	Steerage.	Cabin.	Steerage.
England,	303	9,618	281	9,491
Ireland,	310	17,755	166	22,301
Scotland,	200	2,709	161	6,898
Continent,		851	5	864
Lower Ports,	6	695	12	1,091
Totals	<hr/> 819	<hr/> 31,628	<hr/> 625	<hr/> 40,645

Total in 1850, 32,447. Total 1851, 41,270. Increase, 8,823 Souls.

The number arrived in Canada during the last ten years are as follows:—

	Souls.		Souls.
1842,	44,374	1847,	89,454
1843,	21,727	1848,	27,939
1844,	20,143	1849,	38,494
1845,	25,375	1850,	32,447
1846,	32,753	1851,	41,270

Of the Emigrants landed in Canada in 1851, it is estimated that 4,000 remained in Lower Canada; 18,515 settled in Canada West; and the residue passed on to the United States, some from want of employment, but the greater portion in pursuance of their original design when they left Ireland, having adopted the St. Lawrence as the shortest and cheapest route to Wisconsin.

The number of Emigrants the past year in Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and Prince Edward Island, has as usual been very small. There is no Emigration Office in either of those Colonies, the total number of Emigrants to all of them, not amounting to 500 annually.

[D.]

The English scale of diet is incorrectly stated in the second of these letters. I detected the error too late to correct it in its place. The true regulation is the following:—

"In addition to any provisions which the passengers may themselves bring, the following quantities at least of pure water, and wholesome provisions must be supplied to each passenger by the master during the voyage, including the time of detention at any place:—

3 quarts of water daily.	per week. To be issued in advance, and not less often than twice a week.
2 1-2 lbs of bread or biscuit, [not inferior to navy biscuit,]	
1 lb. wheaten flour,	
5 lbs. Oatmeal,	
2 lbs. Rice,	
2 oz. tea,	
1-2 lb. Sugar,	
1-2 lb. Molasses.	

Five lbs. of good potatoes may at the option of the master be substituted for one lb. of oatmeal or rice, and in ships sailing from Liverpool, or from Irish or Scotch ports, oatmeal may be substituted in equal quantities for the whole or any part of the issues of rice. The Emigration Commissioners, with the authority of the Secretary of State, may substitute other articles of food. Sec. 24 and 25 of 1st Act; and Sec. 2 of 2nd Act.